

Mina Arndt (1885-1926):
The Making of a New Zealand Artist

A thesis
submitted for the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy in Art History
at the University of Canterbury

by
Dorothee E. Pauli

University of Canterbury

2000

CONTENTS

Volume I

Abstract	i
Acknowledgements	ii
Abbreviations	iii
List of Illustrations	iv-vii
Introduction	1
Chapter 1: The Family Background	17
Chapter 2: Early Student Years in Wellington	47
Chapter 3: Studying in London	74
Chapter 4: Mina Arndt and the Artists of Newlyn	105
Chapter 5: The German Influences: Mina Arndt in Berlin	143
Chapter 6: The Artist in New Zealand	189
Conclusion	227
Appendix I : A Family Tree	235
Appendix II Some Statistics Concerning the Jewish Population of New Zealand	236
Appendix III: A Brief Chronology Concerning the Life of Mina Arndt and her Family	237
Appendix IV: Letters by Mina and Edith Arndt	241
Appendix V: Exhibitions by Mina Arndt 1905-1926	248
Bibliography	258

Volume II
Catalogue of Works

Notes	279
Part I: Oils	283
Part II: Gouaches	336
Part III: Drawings	339
Part IV: Prints	424
Part V: Unidentified Works	449

Volume III
Catalogue of Works

The Plates



Mina Arndt (c. 1905)

*Being a woman, I am
not more than man nor less
but answer imperatives
of shape and growth. The bone
attests the girl with dolls,
grown up to know the moon
unwides her tides to chafe
the heart. A house designs
my day an artifact
of care to set the hands
of clocks, and hours are round
with asking eyes. Night puts
an ear on silence where
a child may cry. I close
my books and know events
are people...*

Mary Stanley

Abstract:

Mina Arndt (1885-1926) belongs to the generation of New Zealand born artists, who established early patterns of professional art practice in this country. The events of her life show how Arndt followed career strategies similar to other New Zealand artists of her time, but the cultural, social and political contexts, which shaped her work and professional conduct also set her apart from her contemporaries.

Mina Arndt was born into the sophisticated Jewish community of colonial Dunedin. Her family background and upbringing in the liberal climate of late 19th-century Dunedin ensured for her above average educational opportunities and first nurtured her professional ambition. The utilitarian focus and limited scope of professional art training available in New Zealand made it necessary for Arndt and many others like her to further her studies abroad. In 1907, she travelled to Europe in the company of her mother and two sisters. The interests and movements of her family determined to a considerable degree the nature of her training there, while the timing of her arrival in England largely isolated her from contemporary trends in modern art. Throughout her years abroad, Arndt studied with artists whose art practice was considered up-to-date, but not avant-garde.

The first of Arndt's significant male mentors was Frank Brangwyn, who encouraged her drawing talent and her experimentation with printmaking and other media. From London, Arndt moved to Newlyn to study with Stanhope and Elizabeth Forbes. There Arndt extended her skills as a figure painter. In Berlin, it was not only her encounter with Lovis Corinth, but also her association with Jewish artists Hermann Struck and Julie Wolfthorn, which significantly influenced the work and professional ambition of Mina Arndt.

Mina Arndt returned to New Zealand in 1915 with the aim of establishing herself as a professional artist in her home country. Trying to adjust to the conservative cultural and social climate of early 20th-century New Zealand, Arndt's art practice fragmented to include still life and landscape, genres which she paid little attention to while studying abroad. She married in 1917 and moved to remote Motueka and her later work illustrates some of the artistic isolation she faced there. Compromising much of her early professional ambition, Arndt became the kind of woman artist this country was willing to accommodate.

By employing a feminist mode of enquiry, this account of Arndt's life aims to contribute to a more inclusive history of New Zealand's complex cultural history and artistic heritage.

Acknowledgements:

I wish to thank my supervisors, Dr. Pamela Gerrish Nunn and Julie King for their guidance, constructive criticism and encouragement throughout this project. They also introduced me to Ann Calhoun, who very generously made her existing research on Mina Arndt available to me. I also received valuable advice and encouragement from many other members at the School of fine Arts and the History Department at Canterbury University, namely Ted Bracey, Jillian Cassidy, Graeme Dunstall, Dr. Ian Lochhead, Dr. Karen Stevenson and Dr. Mark Stocker.

My special thanks go to the descendants and relatives of Mina Arndt, especially the late John Manoy, Joan Manoy, Jane Price, Susan Isaacs and Rosie Bowie for their generosity and patience. I am also indebted to the many private collectors of Arndt's work, but especially to Sir Ivor and Lady Richardson, who willingly shared their knowledge with me. Without them this project would not have been completed.

I am especially grateful to Barbara Brownlie, Rosemary Entwisle, Peter Entwisle, Tim Garrity, Melissa Hardie, Max Podstolski, Marian Minson, Tony Mackle, Felicitas Rink, Neil Roberts, Helen Telford and Linda Tyler and many more helpful staff members at the galleries, museums and libraries in New Zealand, Australia and Europe, which I contacted in the course of my research. My thanks go to all of them. My work was further facilitated by the research of David Angeloro, Joan Dodds, Jane Rusel and Devon Sinclair. I also received friendly encouragement and much needed technical help from Judy Boyle, Evelyn Knibb and Anna Versluis.

To my friends and fellow students I am especially indebted: Annie Stuart, who generously supported me in so many ways throughout this project, Janet Abbott, Sue Price, Ruth Buddicom, Shona McCahon and Mark Carruthers, Dayll Jensen, William McCahon, Bernie Schrick and Ina Johann. My heartfelt thanks also to my boys, William and Noah, and to Jürgen Thiele, for taking such good care of them during my many absences. Lastly, I wish to thank my parents, Bernhard and Lotte Pauli. This project is dedicated to them.

Abbreviations:

AAG: Auckland Art Gallery (formerly ACAG: Auckland City Art Gallery)
AGNSW: The Art Gallery of New South Wales
AJHR: Appendices to the Journals of the House of Representatives
APES: Australian Painter-Etcher Society
ASA: Auckland Society of Arts
ATL: Alexander Turnbull Library, Wellington
BSAG: Bishop Suter Art Gallery, Nelson
CPL: Canterbury Public Library, Christchurch
CSA: Canterbury Society of Arts, Christchurch
DAMLH: Dowse Art Museum Lower Hutt
DPAG: Dunedin Public Art Gallery (formerly DCAG: Dunedin City Art Gallery)
HBCT: Hawke's Bay Cultural Trust, Napier
HL: Hocken Library, University of Otago, Dunedin
JM: John Manoy
LDM: Lakes District Museum, Arrowtown
MONZ: Museum of New Zealand Te Papa Tongarewa, Wellington (formerly NAG: National Art Gallery, Wellington)
MAG: Manawatu Art Gallery, Palmerston North (formerly PNAG: Palmerston North Art Gallery)
MAPM: Mina Arndt Papers (Family collection, Motueka)
MBL: Macmillan Brown Library, University of Canterbury, Christchurch
n.d.: not dated
NEAC: New English Art Club
NL: National Library, Wellington
n.s.: not signed
NSAS: Nelson Suter Art Society
NZAFA: New Zealand Academy of Fine Arts, Wellington
OAS: Otago Art Society
ODT: The Otago Daily Times, Dunedin
PEAG: Passmore Edwards Gallery, Newlyn
SASN: Suter Art Society, Nelson
SDAF: Société des Artistes Français, Paris
SFA: School of Fine Arts, University of Canterbury, Christchurch
SGW: Sarjeant Gallery, Wanganui
SMB: Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Stiftung Preussischer Kulturbesitz
SMBCA: Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Stiftung Preussischer Kulturbesitz, Central Archive
RMDG: Robert McDougall Art Gallery, Christchurch
W/C: watercolour

Measurements of artworks are in millimetres, height before width.

List of Illustrations:

Frontispiece: *Portrait of Mina Arndt* (c.1905)
(Photograph, priv. coll.)

- Fig.1 *Mina Arndt's Birthplace, Thurlby Domain* (n.d.)
(Photograph, LDM)
- Fig.2 *Mina Arndt's Parents - Hermann and Marie Arndt* (c. 1875)
(Photograph, LDM)
- Fig.3 *George Street Public School, Dunedin* (c.1900)
(Photograph, HL)
- Fig.4 *Girton College, Dunedin* (n.d.)
(Photograph, HL)
- Fig. 5 *Mina Arndt* (c.1905)
(Photograph, priv. coll., Motueka)
- Fig. 6 James McLauchlan Nairn: *The Late Justice C. W. Richmond* (1897)
(Oil on canvas, 1207 x 953, Supreme Court, Wellington)
- Fig. 7 Petrus van der Velden: *Portrait of a Man in Profile* (n.d.)
(Oil on canvas, 1120 x 890, priv.coll., Auckland)
- Fig. 8 Petrus van der Velden, *Interior*, (n.d.)
(Oil on canvas, 281 x 377, AAG)
- Fig. 9 Sydney Lough Thompson: *The Crucifix* (1902-04)
(Oil on canvas, 731 x 538, MONZ)
- Fig. 10 Frances Hodgkins: *Orange Sellers, Tangiers* (1902-03)
(W/C, MONZ)
- Fig. 11 Dorothy Kate Richmond: *Autumn in the Square* (1902)
(oil on canvas, 540 x 450, priv.coll.)
- Fig. 12 Frank Brangwyn: *Building the New Kensington Museum* (n.d.)
(W/C, dimensions unknown, source: Sparrow , 1919, p. 36.)
- Fig. 13 Frank Brangwyn: *Mowers at Work* (n.d.)
(Lithograph, dimensions unknown, source: Salaman, p. 24)
- Fig. 14 Frank Brangwyn: *The Storm* (c.1904)
(Etching, 460 x 478, source: Salaman, pl. 1)

- Fig. 15 Frank Brangwyn: *Unloading at London Bridge* (n.d.)
(W/C, dimensions unknown, source: Bunt, p. 15)
- Fig. 16 *Mina Arndt with Art Students in London* (c.1907)
(Photograph, priv. coll., Motueka)
- Fig. 17 George Lambert: [*Mother and Sons*] 1909
(Oil on canvas, 590 x 490, priv. coll.)
- Fig. 18 George Lambert: *The Dancer* [1911]
(Oil on canvas, 600 x 450, priv. coll.)
- Fig. 19 Mina Arndt: *Newlyn Harbour* (1909)
(Photograph, priv. coll., Motueka)
- Fig. 20 Stanhope Forbes: *Preparations for the Market, Quimperlé* (1883)
(Oil on canvas, 1690 x 1340, DCAG)
- Fig. 21 Elizabeth Forbes: *For Miles had Grown a Man, with a Man's Thoughts and Desires* (c.1904)
(Charcoal, dimensions unknown, source: Birch, p. 85)
- Fig. 22 Elizabeth Forbes: *School is Out* (1889)
(Oil on canvas, 1055 x 1190, Penzance and District Museum and Gallery)
- Fig. 23 Laura Knight: *The Beach* (1909)
(Oil on canvas, 1275 x 1530, Laing Art Gallery, Newcastle upon Tyne, Tyne and Wear Museum)
- Fig. 24 Walter Langley: *Fishwives* (n.d.)
(W/C, 230 x 430, Penzance and District Museum and Gallery)
- Fig. 25 Elizabeth Armstrong Forbes: *The Leaf* (n.d.)
(Oil on canvas, dimensions unknown, source: Birch, p. 75)
- Fig. 26 Norman Garstin: *A Woman Reading a Newspaper* (1891)
(Oil on canvas, 255 x 215, Tate Gallery, London)
- Fig. 27 Laura Knight: *Daughters of the Sun* (c.1912)
(Oil on canvas, dimensions unknown, source: Cross, p. 162)
- Fig. 28 Laura Knight: *Self Portrait* (1913)
(Oil on canvas, 1524 x 1276, National Portrait Gallery, London)
- Fig. 29 Lovis Corinth: *Damenportrait mit lila Hut* (1912)
(Oil on canvas, 650 x 500, Germanisches Nationalmuseum, Nürnberg)

- Fig. 30 Lovis Corinth: *Donna Gravida* (1909)
(Oil on canvas, 950 x 790, SMB)
- Fig. 31 Lovis Corinth: *Der Harem* (1904)
(Oil on canvas, 1550 x 1400, Hessisches Landesmuseum, Darmstadt)
- Fig. 32 Lovis Corinth: *Liegender Akt* (1899)
(Oil on canvas, 750 x 1200, Kunsthalle Bremen)
- Fig. 33 *Julie Wolfthorn*
(Cover photograph, *Die Weite Welt*, vol.22, no.4, 1902, source: SMBCA)
- Fig. 34 Julie Wolfthorn: *Abend in der Mark* (n.d.)
(Medium unknown, dimensions unknown, source: SMBCA)
- Fig. 35 Julie Wolfthorn: [*Canal Scene, Berlin*] (n.d.)
(W/C, 325 x 425 sight, priv. coll., Wellington)
- Fig. 36 Julie Wolfthorn: [*Fishing Boats*] (n.d.)
(Oil on board, 415 x 312 sight, priv. coll., Wellington)
- Fig. 37 Julie Wolfthorn: *Kinderbildnis* (n.d.)
(Medium unknown, dimensions unknown, source: SMBCA)
- Fig. 38 Julie Wolfthorn: [*Young Girl*] (n.d.)
(Medium unknown, dimensions unknown, source: SMBCA)
- Fig. 39 Julie Wolfthorn: Portrait of the Poet H. Lachmann
(Medium unknown, dimensions unknown, source: SMBCA)
- Fig. 40 Julie Wolfthorn: *Georg Wolf* (n.d.)
(Oil on canvas, dimensions unknown, source: Sparrow ,1905, p. 304)
- Fig. 41 Julie Wolfthorn: *Die Fechterin* (n.d.)
(Medium unknown, dimensions unknown, source: SMBCA)
- Fig. 42 Julie Wolfthorn: *Magdalene Grünberg* (c.1924)
(Pastel, 330 x 430, priv. coll., Hamburg)
- Fig. 43 Julie Wolfthorn: *In den Dünen* (n.d.)
(Oil on board, 320 x 430, Berlinische Galerie)
- Fig. 44 Hermann Struck: *Old Man from Jaffa* (1905)
(Soft ground etching, 209 x 148, priv. coll., Motueka)
- Fig. 45 Hermann Struck: *Polish Rabbi* (1900)
(Etching, 159 x 114, priv. coll., Motueka)

- Fig. 46 Archibald Nicoll: *Winter, a Midlothian Canal* (c.1914)
(Oil on canvas on board, 297 x 400, MONZ)
- Fig. 47 Archibald Nicoll: *Newhaven, Firth of Forth* (n.d.)
(Oil on canvas on board, 290 x 203, HL)
- Fig. 48 *No. 78, Poole Street, Motueka* (1996)
(Photograph, Dorothée Pauli)
- Fig. 49 *Mina Arndt with Baby John* (c.1920)
(Photograph, priv. coll., Motueka)
- Fig. 50 *Mina Arndt with John at No.78, Poole Street, Motueka* (c.1925)
(Photograph, priv.coll., Motueka)
- Fig. 51 Hugh Scott: *Seascape* (n.d.)
(W/C, 235 x 340, BSAG)
- Fig. 52 Hugh Scott: *Lieutenant-Colonel Dunbar -Stewart* (n.d.)
(Oil on canvas, 445 x 340, BSAG)
- Fig. 53 Margaret Stoddart: *Apple Blossom* (c.1902-06)
(W/C and bodycolour over charcoal, 435 x 540, Southland Museum
and Art Gallery, Collection of Southland Art Gallery Trust, Invercargill)
- Fig. 54 Margaret Stoddart: *Godley House, Diamond Harbour* (c.1913)
(W/C and bodycolour over charcoal, 382 x 505, RMDG)

Introduction

It is necessary that monographs on women artists past and present continue to be published, since we need to know more fully about the lives and works of women artists, and how they negotiated their conditions and situations. However, if they follow the model of the 'great artist' monographs, even with a feminist perspective, they will only reinforce the circumscribed, Romantic concept of greatness and genius. To force the art of women into a male tradition can result only in an uneasy fit at best.¹

Over the last thirty years, art history as an academic discipline has undergone a considerable transformation. This process is ongoing, as its ideological framework and value systems are continuously being challenged from a variety of theoretical positions. Feminist thought in particular questions those enduring standards of art history which have served to marginalise the art practice of women. Traditionally, art history has favoured certain manifestations of Western art production, namely painting in oil, sculpture and architecture, at the expense of work in other media, such as painting in watercolours, printmaking or drawing. Other idioms of visual culture, such as embroidery or pottery have been firmly placed into the subcategory of craft. Correspondingly, large-scale works were usually considered superior to those of more modest dimensions, and figure painting was ranked above portraiture, landscape or still life. To this existing hierarchy, historians of Modernism added their own agenda, giving pride of place to works of an aesthetically and conceptually innovative nature. And, until recently, most research focused on the male, white, heroic genius or artistic rebel, confounding his dominant status in the art historical canon at the expense of female artists, or artists of colour, or artists working outside the perceived centres of Western art production.

Influenced by feminism's challenge to these biases of Western art history, this thesis traces the life and work of Mina Arndt (1885-1926), who was female and Jewish, a painter who also produced a substantial body of prints and drawings, and who lived for the most part of her career in the isolation of rural New Zealand. The following chapters have been written with the aim of demonstrating how the monograph on an artist like Arndt - an artist living and working on the margins of European art production - can contribute to a more inclusive and thus more comprehensive history of art in New Zealand. Mina Arndt is a likely candidate for such an investigation for a variety of reasons. Her career flourished during a largely neglected era of this country's art history, the opening decades of the 20th-century.

¹Thalia Gouma-Peterson and Patricia Mathews, *The Feminist Critique of Art History*, in *The Art Bulletin*, vol. 69, no. 3, September 1987, p. 356.

At the time, a considerable number of first generation New Zealand-born, European-trained artists, both male *and* female, tried to construct a career for themselves in their home country, breaking new ground in a culture largely unprepared for artists who conceived of themselves as self-determined professionals. And yet, while Arndt's work has consistently been alluded to by more recent generations of art historians as being of considerable 'significance'², her career has not attracted any sustained analysis to support this reputation. Indeed, a benign neglect has positioned Mina Arndt in a way which highlights why the existing text of New Zealand art history still falls short of the kind of account of its cultural past this country needs.

The reason for this surely lies in the nature of New Zealand art history itself, which only emerged about fifty years ago in a climate of cultural nationalism and from that time established a hierarchy of genres somewhat different from its European counterpart. In line with views first put forward late last century by Dunedin amateur painter William Matthew Hodgkins³, landscape rather than figure painting became the dominant genre in New Zealand art and art history. Under the influence of cultural nationalism, which had begun to assert itself in the 1930s, pride of place in the story of New Zealand art was assigned landscape painting of a distinctive, gendered iconography, extolling the achievements of the heroic, male pioneer. The focus on landscape painting was maintained when, during the 1960s, modernism began to take over from nationalism as the dominant theoretical framework informing New Zealand art history. Women were not completely absent from either account. But as the cases of Rita Angus (1908-1970) or Doris Lusk (1916-1990) highlight, most attention was paid to women who were locally trained, were at times associated with key groups of modernist New Zealand artists and devoted a large part of their careers to modernist landscape painting. Therein, Angus in particular was seen to be contributing to the development of a national style. By contrast, the career of Mina Arndt, who was not a nationalist, not a modernist, worked in a region on the periphery of New Zealand's landscape tradition and belonged to a diverse group of European trained artists, remained outside the principal focus of New Zealand art history.

² See for example the entry on Arndt in A. Kirker, *New Zealand Women Artists*, (rev.ed.), Sydney, 1993.

³ William Matthew Hodgkins (1833-1898), father of Frances and Isabel Hodgkins, was born in Liverpool. He settled in Dunedin in 1860, where he worked as a barrister and solicitor. An admirer of Turner, he became a well-known amateur painter of landscapes in his own right. As the leader of the artistic community of Dunedin, he vigorously argued for the development of a New Zealand school of landscape painting (in the style of Turner), which he believed, in the absence of any significant collections of history painting, would best suit the colonial artist. See W. M. Hodgkins, *A History of Landscape Art and its Study in New Zealand*, in *ODT*, unpaginated supplement, 20 November 1880.

Mina Arndt first surfaced as an art historical figure in this country when three of her works were included in the National Centennial Exhibition of New Zealand Art in 1940.⁴ By then, the lion's share of artistic achievement in Western art in New Zealand had already been assigned to the landscape artists, with Rita Angus and Rata Lovell-Smith (1894-1969) being the most notable, female contributors.⁵ Both focused their landscape work of the 1930s on Canterbury, embracing an idea of Regionalism similar to that practiced in Canada or the United States. Significantly, Rita Angus, who following a separation in 1934 chose to remain single and childless, went on to produce a body of work of consistent, high quality, an outcome which Arndt, compromised by social expectations placed on her in early 20th-century New Zealand could not match. But unfortunately, the attention paid to Angus and her work also helped to reinforce an established value system, which led to the exclusion or marginalisation of other New Zealand women artists like Arndt, whose work did not relate to the major pre-occupations of New Zealand art history and who were seen to fall short of the quality mark. As Parker and Pollock have pointed out,

to discover the history of women and art is in part to account for the way art history is written. To expose its underlying values, its assumptions, its silences and its prejudices is also to understand that the way women artists are recorded and described is crucial to the definition of art and artists in our society.⁶

To probe and pierce some of the assumptions and silences of New Zealand art history, this thesis therefore rejects the idea of 'quality' as the primary or founding justification for study of an artist's career. Instead, it investigates the making of one of New Zealand's so-called lesser woman artists - whose brief career unfolded during an era which has been generally neglected in this country's art history - with the intention to reveal how specific social and cultural conditions affected her art practice. In so doing, the following chapters aim to elucidate the nature of Mina Arndt's work and how she embraced the identity of 'artist', which, as Pamela Gerrish Nunn has pointed out, 'meant different things for different women.'⁷ It is one

⁴ See catalogue of the *National Centennial Exhibition of New Zealand Art*, Wellington, 1940, p.18. The works by Arndt were No.10 *Decorative Group*, No.11 *Pastel*, No.12 *Portrait (charcoal)*. Her work hung alongside that of 37 other women in a show comprising a total of 224 artists. While the presence of a significant number of women artists in this exhibition is indicative of women's role as culture bearers in the then one hundred-year old history of colonial settlement in New Zealand, the ratio of male to female artists applied here foreshadowed the relative obscurity women artists were to slip into during the years following World War II. Moreover, in the case of Angus, the scope of her work which included many portraits, was distorted to fit the preference given to the landscape genre.

⁵ For a brief discussion of the careers of both painters, see Kirker (1993), pp. 87-96.

⁶ Rozsika Parker and Griselda Pollock, *Old Mistresses*, New York, 1981, p. 3.

⁷ Pamela Gerrish Nunn, *Victorian Women Artists*, London, 1987, p. 3.

of the tasks of feminist art history to examine why and how women throughout Western history entered a sphere of professional cultural production dominated by men, for 'although women are given a common character in patriarchal society, they do not necessarily have an identical experience.'⁸The investigation of Arndt's particular experiences as an artist is all the more pertinent within the historical framework of early 20th-century New Zealand, as concepts of artistic professionalism were then just being established in this country. This study, as it outlines Arndt's training, her professional conduct and the expectations of her contemporary audiences will therefore also help to explain why early 20th-century New Zealand generated the art it did.

As mentioned above, the early work of both Angus and Lovell-Smith responded to a search for a national style in art, which largely focused on landscape painting and dominated much of the critical and historical writing on the subject⁹. The opening comments of A.H. McLintock in the catalogue of the 1940 National Centennial Exhibition, provided another example of this. From the beginning, according to McLintock, Western art in New Zealand was wedded to the landscape subject, as evident in the work of the pioneering amateurs, the painting surveyors and the Romantic watercolourists such as Gully and Hoyte. Contemporary standards of European professionalism were first disseminated in this country by Petrus van der Velden, James Nairn and Girolamo Nerli. But in the opinion of McLintock, young artists of Arndt's generation who sought to emulate such role models by training overseas in the end contributed little to the development of the arts in New Zealand, precisely because of their background in European art. Their practices apparently did not relate to the social reality of *this* country and their experiments 'somewhat defiantly conducted were in the main imitative and rested on no deep social basis.'¹⁰ Somewhat paradoxically, insofar as he looked towards a European model of another kind, McLintock pinned his hopes regarding the future development of New Zealand art on the followers of Cézanne, because

the most valuable aspect of his work, his strenuous insistence on form, has noticeably affected the outlook of many contemporary New Zealand artists who are approaching the landscape of their country in a new spirit. In this respect New Zealand's remoteness and her inevitable delays in assimilating artistic developments have proved definite assets, for at

⁸ Ibid.

⁹ Arguably the most famous and influential example of this kind of writing is A. R. D. Fairburn's essay *Some Aspects of New Zealand Art and Letters*, in *Art in New Zealand*, vol. 6, no. 4, June 1934, pp. 213- 218.

¹⁰ Catalogue of the *National Centennial Exhibition of New Zealand Art*, p. 15.

least she has been spared those excesses which stultify true progress in the arts.¹¹

Other art historical writing accompanying the Centennial Exhibition event supported McLintock's assessment of the past and future of New Zealand art to some degree. The writer and literary critic E.H. McCormick, in *Letters and Art in New Zealand* (1940), combined his evaluation of the history of the fine arts with a history of New Zealand literature. It was McCormick's aim to show how both literature and art related to the social changes occurring in New Zealand. His analysis of the visual arts largely depended on prints, watercolours and oils held in significant private collections by the regional galleries and art societies (which then did not include works by Arndt). Beginning with images documenting European exploration of New Zealand, McCormick attempted to demonstrate how the visual arts reflected the changing patterns of European colonisation of New Zealand. In that, McCormick's underlying focus remained on individual responses to the land, the 'dialogue' between the artist and the specificities of the local environment, from where he believed a discernible New Zealand style was most likely to emerge, a style which would emulate European standards of originality, distinctiveness and innovation.

But McCormick also brought into view the expatriate experience, a phenomenon he was later to elaborate on in his extensive writing on Frances Hodgkins. Writing in 1940, he credited the first generations of professional New Zealand artists who received the majority of their training overseas, with an increased level of technical competence. This was most evident in what he believed to be the two genres characteristic of the period from 1900 to 1930, the still life and the portrait. Within a limited range of subjects, artists of that era first and foremost 'concentrated on solving technical problems'¹², earning their living by catering to the bourgeois aspirations of "the increasing class of 'art lovers', and from those men of substance who wished to adorn their homes...within the limits of accepted taste."¹³ Thus 'the lustrous zinnias of Miss Richmond and Miss Stoddart's roses have become part of the tradition of New Zealand painting, as representative of the taste and achievement of their time as Gully's landscapes are of his.'¹⁴ McCormick attributed

¹¹ Ibid., p. 15ff.

¹² E. H. McCormick, *Letters and Art in New Zealand*, Wellington, 1940, p. 159. This work represents the first comprehensive, critical evaluation of the history of art in New Zealand. From there, McCormick went on to become one of the most influential writers on art and literature in New Zealand of his generation. For an acknowledgment of his work, see J. Ross, L. Gill and S. McRae, *Writing a New Country*, Auckland, 1993.

¹³ McCormick (1940), p. 157.

¹⁴ Ibid., p. 159.

the most distinctive artistic attainment of that era to Alfred W. Walsh, whose work prompted him to doubt whether training at the art schools of Paris or London was indeed necessary for a painter who wanted to pursue a professional career in New Zealand. McCormick upheld the example of Walsh 'to say that a talent such as his, drawing its strength from familiar surroundings, could reach maturity in New Zealand, and would, almost certainly, have suffered fatally by transplantation.'¹⁵ McCormick was most supportive of an art which, in his opinion, reflected the New Zealand condition as it was—a mature art, which nevertheless maintained the freshness and immediacy he believed characterised Heaphy's early New Zealand landscapes. And, like McLintock, he held much hope for those young artists who had begun to look at the New Zealand landscape with 'the discipline of Cézanne.'¹⁶ This was an accepted standard of excellence both McLintock and McCormick adopted from the European modernist master narrative, and in particular the writings of Clive Bell and Roger Fry.

A similar bias, favouring artists responding to the specificities of the New Zealand landscape and the harsh New Zealand sunlight, informed later surveys of New Zealand art, in particular Brown and Keith's *An Introduction to New Zealand Painting* (1969). While Brown and Keith gave a much more detailed account of the work of New Zealand artists than the previous writers could provide, they were still anxious to connect New Zealand art to a nationalist canon and a modernist master narrative. First generation New Zealand-born professional artists like Arndt, whom the authors considered to still work from a 19th-century, colonial premise were therefore described merely as one of the many visual sources informing more recent, modernist art production. In the opening statements of their influential book, Brown and Keith asserted that

there is no doubt that the painters who emerged from the middle of the nineteen-thirties, and those who followed, have carried New Zealand painting into the twentieth century. Their work, while representing a significant escape from the attitudes of the immediate past, also indicates certain links that have existed within New Zealand painting from the beginning of European colonisation, if not before. *These links, coupled as they are to problems of location and identity, as well as to that of isolation, no longer have the relevance they once had.* Only rarely is there discussion about what might or might not constitute 'New Zealand painting', but while this can be seen as a sign of maturity, it also carries with it an awareness that painters had lived and worked in this country before. In retrospect the past has its uses. This awareness is no longer accompanied by a frenzied desire to establish roots in a barely

¹⁵ Ibid., p. 161.

¹⁶ Ibid., p. 193.

discernible tradition but is now accepted as a normal background against which the painters work; a background that is shared, more or less equally, with an awareness of international art movements. Perhaps this recognition of the past is a prerequisite for the present sense of national identification. Having arrived at this point it is not too difficult to see where one has been.¹⁷

The issue of what constitutes our 'present sense of national identification', and to what extent contemporary New Zealand art is in fact 'of this land' has since been questioned,¹⁸ and has indeed become one of the major issues of current New Zealand art history-an issue which invites further feminist analysis. But equally significant in the context of this study is Brown and Keith's assertion that all that needed to be said had indeed been said about New Zealand's early 20 th-century painters. However, as their scant treatment of Arndt illustrates, the question remains of how well we are able to understand or see where we have been, if we rely on 'concise histories of New Zealand art', particularly with reference to patterns of female art production in this country. Questions concerning women's particular responses to problems of location, identity and isolation in the course of their careers were swept aside by Keith and Brown as obsolete fields of inquiry. This is rather perplexing because, as has already been mentioned, from the beginning, women were never entirely absent from the canon of New Zealand art history. Their treatment therefore suggests that Keith and Brown had not moved from the position taken by McLintock et al nearly thirty years earlier. They included female artists as the earlier authors had done, acknowledging women's traditional role as culture bearers in this country. Thus women artists are given a not insignificant, but nevertheless limited role only, which is not allowed to threaten the gender (or genre) bias of their (modernist and nationalist) master narrative.

The structure of their book relies on chapters on individual artists. In the colonial period, this includes the amateur landscape artists Charles Heaphy, William Fox and the Reverend Kinder, while the female professionals emerging in late colonial New Zealand, Arndt among them, are briefly dealt with in 'survey' chapters. Similar to women artists then, the amateurs add volume to the story of the cultural colonisation of this country, but their work need not be judged on artistic merits within the terms of reference set by the modernist master narrative. Their work can be valued for its historical significance alone. Similar to the token inclusion of women artists, it does not threaten the supremacy of the male professional, but reinforces it. Or, as Parker and Pollock observed,

¹⁷ G. Brown & H. Keith, *An Introduction to New Zealand Painting*, Auckland, 1969, p. 9. [my italics]

¹⁸ See for example E. Barr, (ed.) *Headlands-Thinking through New Zealand Art*, Sydney, 1992.

the art of men can only maintain its dominance and privilege on the pages of art history by having a negative to its positive, a feminine to its unacknowledged masculine.¹⁹

The inclusion of the male colonial amateurs demonstrates the extent to which authors such as Keith and Brown favour men, that is to say subscribe to a gendered notion of New Zealand's past and cultural identity.²⁰ Women are largely absent from the images of the colonial amateurs, as they are from the opening chapters of Brown and Keith's publication.²¹

The female artists who make more than a passing appearance in their survey, namely Frances Hodgkins, Rita Angus and Doris Lusk, are, with the exception of Angus, by and large discussed in reference to the painters considered most significant by the authors (Toss Woollaston and Colin McCahon) and favoured for the saving grace of the modernist style or landscape content of their work. Mina Arndt herself, dismissed in the first instance as a painter 'preoccupied with the human figure'²² appears in one of the general chapters discussing expatriate and overseas trained artists-a position which remained fixed in later surveys on New Zealand art.²³ Described in an ill-researched, biographical paragraph as a painter situated outside the orbit of the main centres, her achievement is summed up as follows:

The influence of Corinth's rather agitated brush work can be detected in her painting, though towards the latter part of her life her style became less nervous and much of the earlier sombreness gave way to a lighter tonal range.²⁴

Not only is Arndt marginalised because of her obvious failure to contribute to the development of a national style focused on landscape painting, but statements such as this one also highlight the recurring preoccupation in New Zealand art historical writing with Arndt's supposed links with Lovis Corinth. This link with Corinth attempts to label Arndt a 'modern painter', who helped to push forward the cause of New Zealand art, but by attaching her reputation to that of a well known European 'master', Brown and Keith (as did Gil Docking and Michael Dunn) also seek to legitimise New Zealand art as the worthy subject of art historical inquiry.

¹⁹ Parker and Pollock, p. 80.

²⁰ This gendered notion of national identity has been widely challenged by historians and art historians alike. See for example Claudia Bell, *Inventing New Zealand*, Auckland, 1996; Bev James and Kay Saville-Smith, *Gender, Culture and Power*, Auckland, 1989; Jock Phillips, *A Man's Country?*, Auckland, 1987.

²¹ For a feminist re-evaluation of colonial, amateur art in New Zealand see Jane Clendon, *The Art of the Untrained Artist in Colonial New Zealand*, PhD Thesis, Victoria University of Wellington, 1994.

²² Brown & Keith, p. 74.

²³ See Kirker (1993); G. Docking, *Two Hundred Years of New Zealand Painting*, (rev. ed.) Auckland, 1990; Michael Dunn, *A Concise History of New Zealand Painting*, Auckland, 1991.

²⁴ Brown and Keith, p. 74.

Moreover, associating Arndt with Corinth as they do, these authors perpetuate a pattern of patriarchal art history, which attributes status to female artists according to the perceived significance of the male artists they can be related to. (Here it is interesting to note that *The Red Hat*, the most exhibited of all of Arndt's works, demonstrates most clearly the influence of Corinth. The selection of this work therefore appears to be ideologically based, rather than the result of an informed comparison with her other oils.) Brown and Keith do not question the values of the distorted European narrative they modelled their own effort on—a narrative which describes Corinth as one of the 'great artists', and considers him, unlike his numerous and mostly nameless and fameless female students, a significant force in the history of the modernist movement.

P.A. Tomory, continuing the evaluation of Arndt's work on stylistic grounds, in another, slimmer survey of New Zealand art published in 1968²⁵, included a late landscape by Arndt, which he admired for its fluid handling of the oil medium. Considering the detailed consideration Tomory gave to Toss Woollaston, who lived and worked in the same region as Arndt, it is surprising that some of the stylistic similarities between Arndt's and Woollaston's later renditions of the same subject matter went unnoticed. It was Gordon Brown who first explored the possible link between the work of Arndt and that of later generations of New Zealand artists. In a catalogue essay, written in 1972,²⁶ he credited Arndt (in keeping with his modernist bias) with the introduction of an element of 'dynamic expressionism' into the overall pattern of New Zealand painting. On this occasion, Brown also began to weave his accounts of the lives of New Zealand artists in and around general historic developments and events impacting on their careers. But again he failed to consider the discriminatory social realities and prescriptive ideologies affecting the professional ambitions of women artists between the wars.

Anne Kirker, in her survey *New Zealand Women Artists* (first published in 1986), also omitted to discuss such issues in any detail, producing by her own admission another master narrative which, in the words of Gouma Peterson and Mathews, 'forced the art of women into a male tradition.'²⁷ Nevertheless, her book represents an invaluable and in many ways still unsurpassed contribution to the history of women's art in New Zealand. Her research not only addressed the obvious gaps regarding the contribution made by women to the history of New Zealand art left in the existing narratives, but also established New Zealand women artists as a

²⁵ P.A. Tomory, *Painting 1827-1967*, Wellington, 1968, p. 19.

²⁶ G. Brown, *New Zealand Painting 1900-1920-Traditions and Departures*, Wellington, 1972.

²⁷ Gouma-Peterson and Mathews, p. 356.

subject of art historical inquiry in their own right. Greatly facilitating the teaching of feminist art history in this country, her publication encouraged further contributions to the subject, including this thesis.

Indeed, it was Kirker who first advanced public knowledge about the complexities of Arndt's work to any degree. In her entry on Arndt, Kirker is also the first to *attempt* a consideration of contemporary concepts of 'womanhood' and appropriate female art practice and how these might have affected the artist:

It is a sobering fact that the pressure on women artists in New Zealand to produce the 'merely pleasing' was a major obstacle to their development. Traditional attitudes to women made it hard for them to assert themselves as serious painters, and the expectation that women of Arndt's social standing especially should be genteel militated against experimentation.²⁸

It was not Kirker's aim to explore such issues in any detail. Indeed, her survey represents the appropriate format for a *first* coherent exploration of the history of women's art in this country. But, as her comment on Arndt illustrates, it needs to be built on with more focused research. Kirker could only touch on one of the key issues which awaits further feminist art historical investigation in this country, namely the notion that New Zealand women artists of Arndt's era (and perhaps of any period) negotiated 'conditions and situations' affecting their art practice which differed from those encountered by their European counterparts. Moreover, not only is Kirker's account of Arndt's life, based largely on the private recollections of the artist's descendants, limited and at times factually wrong, it also does not spell out the, in fact, very complex web of 'traditional attitudes' to women, which affected female artists of Arndt's generation. Neither does she quote contemporary critical responses to Arndt's work to underpin her assumptions. But perhaps most importantly, by adopting the survey format, Kirker appears to confirm that New Zealand has not brought forth the kind of artist who could sustain the more detailed treatment given to leading European artists, an assumption which also may have motivated E.H. McCormick to focus his later forays into New Zealand art history on Frances Hodgkins.²⁹

Even if one leaves the patriarchal assumptions and structures of art history as a discipline unchallenged, as Kirker has done, the question needs to be asked whether casting Arndt in the role of the pioneer modernist in the company of

²⁸ Kirker (1993), p. 58.

²⁹ See E. H. McCormick, *The Expatriate: A Study of Francis Hodgkins*, Wellington, 1954; *Works of Frances Hodgkins in New Zealand*, Wellington, 1954; *Frances Hodgkins and her Circle*, Auckland, 1954.

Hodgkins is warranted. Considering the varied nature of her work, Arndt could have been described more discerningly as a painter of realist portraiture or even as a budding regionalist. Again, hemmed in by the survey format of her book, Kirker did not have the scope to explore the complexities of Arndt's cultural heritage, the varied nature of artistic influences informing her work, as well as her restless exploration of different media and subject matters, which combined to make Arndt the artist she was. In essence, Kirker's account of Arndt's life and her assessment of Arndt's achievement provide a useful starting point from which to consider the specific social, political and ideological conditions affecting Arndt's art practice and the particular contribution she made to the cultural heritage of New Zealand.

Such a study would in one sense move against more recent trends in New Zealand art history, which question the lingering hegemony of European culture in this country while revisiting favoured themes such as (colonial) landscape painting. As part of this debate, Francis Pound fundamentally challenged the approach to New Zealand art constructed by authors such as Fairburn, McCormick, Keith or Brown, asserting in 1983 that 'no visual experience of nature...can exist outside the frames of the genres: there is no innocent eye, no possible access to a 'real' and preexisting nature.'³⁰ A belief in the 'innocent eye' had led New Zealand art historians to speculate

that there is a 'real New Zealand', a 'real' New Zealand landscape, with its 'real' qualities of light and atmosphere, to which some artists are true and others untrue, the 'true' artists being then 'good' and the 'untrue' bad. And... that the 'real' New Zealand *causes* style in paintings-a kind of geographical determinism.³¹

The work of Pound, which also critiqued elsewhere the master narrative constructed by Brown and Keith³², led to a wider re-evaluation of New Zealand art history, identifying the desire to find in New Zealand art a discernible local style (especially in reference to landscape painting) as nationalistic, patriarchal and socially and politically conservative. Another prominent contribution to this rewriting of New Zealand art history is Leonard Bell's work on European depictions of Maori, including in the first instance drawings by Arndt, which he valued for their lack of

³⁰ F. Pound, *Frames on the Land: Early Landscape Painting in New Zealand*, Auckland, 1983, p. 14.

³¹ *Ibid.*, p. 11.

³² See F. Pound, *The Land, the Light, and the Nationalist Myth in New Zealand Art*, in Jock Phillips (ed) *Te Whenua Te Iwi :The Land & The People*, Wellington, 1987, and F. Pound, *The Words and the Art: New Zealand Art Criticism c.1950-c.1990*, in Barr (ed.)

'stereotyped exoticism'.³³ But Bell's all too brief mention of Arndt only highlights the fact that the ongoing process of re-evaluation of New Zealand art and art history, much of it inspired by feminist theory, has not led to a fresh conceptualisation of the work of artists of Arndt's era-artists who had so obviously been marginalised in the nationalist canon because they failed to portray the 'real New Zealand'.³⁴

Instead, in 1992, projects like *Headlands-Thinking through New Zealand Art* shifted the focus of historical and critical enquiry towards issues or themes which impacted on New Zealand art over the last twenty years, namely the emergence of post-modernism, the politics of bi-culturalism and the search for a cultural identity in a post-colonial age. It is not surprising that this kind of enquiry again discourages research concerning the careers of artists of Arndt's era, linked as they were to a colonial past. Nevertheless, in her contribution to *Headlands*, discussing the impact of postmodernism on New Zealand art, Christina Barton arrived at the kind of programme for a future New Zealand art practice, which could equally be used to encourage renewed feminist enquiry into the writing of New Zealand art history of any period. Barton declared:

Postmodernism in New Zealand, with its roots in post-object and new image practices of the late 1970s and the early 1980s, its theoretical bases in phenomenology, feminist theory and, more recently, deconstructive, post-structuralist theory, is a response to that profound shift marked by the demise of the ideologies of Romanticism, as they have impinged on our social, economic and cultural history. For, more than anything, postmodernism questions those sustaining myths of individual expression, originality and an identificatory investment in the land. It is within this overarching framework that our contemporary critique of modernist discourse should be construed, that 'other' voices should be heard.³⁵

Although specifically referring to an examination of modernism, Barton's comments, if read in context with the project at hand, echo a theoretical position first alluded to in 1971 by Linda Nochlin in her much quoted essay 'Why Have There Been No Great Woman Artists'.³⁶ It would not do, Nochlin argued, to simply insert women into the 'grand master narrative', as this would only serve to reinforce

³³ See Leonard Bell, *The Maori in European Art*, Wellington, 1980, p.116. This he followed up with *Colonial Constructs: European Images of Maori 1840-1914*, Auckland, 1992.

³⁴ An important exception is Roger Blackley's work on Goldie, who was a popular artist during his lifetime and whose work attracts renewed critical attention in an era of bi-culturalism. See R. Blackley, *Goldie*, Auckland, 1997.

³⁵ Christina Barton, *Framing the Real: Postmodern Discourses in Recent New Zealand Art*, in Barr (ed.), p.183.

³⁶ Linda Nochlin, *Why Have There Been No Great Women Artists*, reprinted in L. Nochlin (ed.) *Women, Art and Power*, New York, 1988, pp. 145-177.

the theoretical and ideological foundations of a biased text. Nochlin called instead for a paradigm shift, encouraging feminist art historians to change the focus of their enquiry and to begin to ask different questions which would probe the most 'natural assumptions' of art history. In the 1980s, feminist art historians took their analysis further, classifying art history as a patriarchal discourse, instrumental 'both in preserving masculine power and in constructing and consolidating gender difference.'³⁷ An expanding body of feminist theory, the legacy of the feminist movement, encouraged feminist art historians to base the structure and directions of their investigations into the discipline on different kinds of theoretical or ideological frameworks.³⁸

Since then, poststructural theory or, more precisely, the feminist application of poststructural theory, encouraged the analysis of gender as a social construction. As Marsha Meskimmon explained, poststructuralism challenged

the concept of the individual as a fully self cognisant and independent entity who can attain objective knowledge about, and mastery of, the objects in the world...Individuals are formed through their encounters with the world; there is no pre-existent essence that is the subject. We are formed by an elaborate interweaving of identifications with socially defined roles and expectations. These become part of our internal, or psychic, identities and can be both pleasurable and/or confining.³⁹

Poststructural theory then, as summarised by Meskimmon, encouraged the writing of gender history, which focused on the psychological effects conflicting social roles had on women artists in any given era. However, the writing of women's history as gender history, which has as its focus 'internal' or 'psychic' identities, can distract from an analysis of the political implications of gender construction. Moreover, poststructural theory compromises

The historians' ability to identify facts and chronological narratives and it reduces to mere subjective stories the experiences of women struggling to define themselves in particular historical contexts.⁴⁰

Reconceptualising women's history as gender history alone is particularly unhelpful in a country like New Zealand, where, as has been shown, much

³⁷ Norma Broude and Mary D. Garrard (eds.), *The Expanding Discourse: Feminism and Art History*, New York, 1992, p. 2.

³⁸ See *ibid.* for a detailed and eloquent summary of the various theoretical positions informing feminist art history up to then.

³⁹ Marsha Meskimmon, *The Art of Reflection: Women Artists' Self Portraiture in the Twentieth Century*, London, 1996, p.13.

⁴⁰ Joan Hoff, The Pernicious Effect of Postmodernism on Women's History, in *Women's Studies Association New Zealand Newsletter*, vol. 15, no. 1, 1994, pp. 31-33.

research on the history of women artists still needs to be compiled, that is to say, where few of the chronological narratives exist which facilitate the teaching of women's history, and which poststructuralists elsewhere have had the luxury to base their own work on.

In this basic research task, the feminist monograph serves an important function. Investigating the making of a New Zealand woman artist, it can validate as the subject of art historical enquiry the way New Zealand women artists negotiated the social and cultural conditions which affected their art practice, a project essential to the development of a more inclusive New Zealand art history. As first suggested by Nochlin, this involves the continued probing and piercing of patriarchal concepts of society, for example patriarchal concepts of womanhood and femininity designed to exclude women from most areas of cultural production. As has been pointed out by feminist poststructural historians like Meskimmon, these prescriptive concepts of womanhood change not only with the passage of time, but also vary from one social context to another. What remains constant about them is their effect, preventing women from achieving social, political and cultural equality. Feminist art historical scholarship therefore needs to continue to identify the differing strategies employed in any given time and place to keep women in marginal social positions.

Here it is important to remember that feminism 'does not impose itself on art and history as a canonic manifesto or a closed system, which pretends to delineate the validity and invalidity of the art of the present'⁴¹ as traditional art history has done in the past. A characteristic example of this kind of feminist art history is Joan Kerr's *Heritage* (1995),⁴² a compilation of 500 works by 500 different Australian women artists. This publication discusses examples of nearly every aspect of the visual arts of Australian women (of both indigenous and European descent) produced from the early 1800s to 1955. By including works usually relegated to the 'applied' or 'domestic' arts in traditional art history, the book aims to deliver a more inclusive account of women's participation in the cultural history of Australia (and thus could serve as a model for a similar kind of publication dealing with the cultural legacy of New Zealand women). It places needle workers and cameo cutters next to painters and sculptors in thematic chapters 'which tell a new and different story about the past—a women's story of national significance and astonishing variety.'⁴³ But perhaps most importantly, this book was compiled in response to the realisation, that after thirty years of feminist intervention in art history women still do not appear

⁴¹ Gouma-Peterson and Mathews, p. 357

⁴² Joan Kerr, *Heritage: The National Women's Art Book*, Sydney, 1995.

⁴³ *Ibid.*, p. viii.

in equal numbers to their male counterparts in the accounts of Australian art. As Kerr has observed, "there is nothing new about a flourishing contemporary art scene filled with women. Decade after decade they appear and, with but one or two exceptions are exiled to oblivion or the 'minor arts'. The moral is clear: past women artists have to be retrieved and reinstated to give their descendants a future."⁴⁴ Essential to this kind of publication, however, is diligent biographical research, as illustrated by the monographic entries on each woman in the last chapter of the book. Collated into a richly detailed mosaic of women's longstanding and extraordinarily varied contribution to the visual culture of Australia, they not only show the different strategies employed by women to negotiate the particular social and historical 'conditions and situations'⁴⁵ affecting their work. In combination, these monographs (as they contextualise each artist's work) produce an alternative to that male tradition, which in the opinion of Gouma-Petersen and Mathews, never provided anything more than an inadequate framework for women's art, whether in Australia, New Zealand or any other part of the westernised world.

As has been alluded to above, in New Zealand art history this kind of work has been largely neglected. In their appraisal of Mina Arndt, for example, local art historians have been guided by nationalist, patriarchal modes of inquiry, discussing her work with reference to such categories as quality, innovation and style. While these categories serve to advance the reputations of the male artists favoured by the master narrative, they failed to address the complexities of the female artists' existence and the variety of work produced by female artists. Rewriting the histories of New Zealand woman artists as social history, showing how they negotiated a specific set of 'conditions and situations' affecting their lives as artists, will not only allow us to connect their stories to the expanding discourse on the careers their European and North American counterparts, but will also invite a more confident comparison between the experiences of women working in the perceived centres of Western art practice with those working at its margins. More studies on New Zealand women artists are needed to give depth to our understanding of the way specific social and geographical contexts affected the professional ambitions of women artists in this country. Thus Julie King's *Margaret Stoddart: Flowers into Landscape*⁴⁶ and Joanne Drayton's *Edith Collier: Her Life And Work*⁴⁷, as they record the careers of two very different artists, are valuable

⁴⁴ Ibid., p. ix.

⁴⁵ Gouma-Petersen and Mathews, p. 356.

⁴⁶ Julie King, *Flowers Into Landscape: Margaret Stoddart 1865-1934*, Christchurch, 1997.

⁴⁷ Joanne Drayton, *Edith Collier: Her Life and Work, 1885-1964*, Christchurch, 1999.

contributions to a more inclusive history of New Zealand art and validate the extensive contribution women artists made to the cultural heritage of this country.

In New Zealand, this kind of feminist research more often than not needs to cover the most basic ground. In the case of Arndt, this investigation brings together a wide variety of sources documenting the events of her life, situating her in a number of contrasting contexts: her German-Jewish family background; a childhood spent in Dunedin; ten years of training in New Zealand and abroad, and the years of her subsequent career spent in the isolated Nelson region. Her works, as they illustrate her personal journey as an artist, will be compared to those of her known teachers and related to contemporary voices articulating critical and public opinion on the nature and purpose of 'good art'. Similarly, contemporary prescriptive ideologies concerning women will be considered for the way they shaped Arndt's image of herself and the nature of her art practice. To arrive at a more considered evaluation of her professional directions, a complete impression of her oeuvre is needed, charting as it does the ebb and flow of her career. This thesis therefore includes a catalogue of works by Mina Arndt, most of which are in private collections. Throughout this thesis, the many fragments documenting her career will be pieced together in a detailed analysis of the social, political, geographical and artistic contexts she moved in and out of, and linked to her surviving work. From there will emerge a first complete consideration of the life and work of Mina Arndt and an example of the kind of art history New Zealand needs, to do justice to the diversity and particular character of its artistic past.

Chapter 1:

The Family Background

Mina Arndt's family background placed her in the orbit of one of colonial New Zealand's most enterprising and sophisticated communities, the Otago Jewish congregation. A small and closely interconnected group, the Otago Jewry became a highly successful entity in the local economy and a driving force in colonial politics, an enviable position when compared to many other Jewish communities elsewhere in the world. The pioneering endeavours of Mina's father ensured her a secure childhood and above average educational opportunities. Mina Arndt grew up in the liberal political climate of colonial Dunedin, a settlement of Scottish origin, which took pride in its educational facilities for females and was therefore, not surprisingly, a stronghold of the country's first feminist movement. There Mina Arndt found herself exposed to a variety of cultural traditions, contributing to the East German heritage of her own extended family.

When Mina (Hermina) Arndt was born on 18 April 1885, at Thurlby Domain, her family's large rural estate near Queenstown (fig. 1), her father had been dead for more than a month. Hermann Arndt, in whose memory she was named, had succumbed to a long illness on 4 March 1885⁴⁸, at the age of fifty-three, leaving behind his young wife Marie (née Beaver, c.1847-1926, fig. 2) and their four small children. Hermann Arndt, like the Beavers, had arrived in the district in the early 1860s, as part of a larger influx of British and East German Jews. Many of them had been lured to the colony by the promising business opportunities associated with the Otago gold rush, others were hoping to find social and legal equality in a country far away from the anti-Semitic regimes of Europe. The Anglo Saxon Jewish migrants to New Zealand originated on the whole from the Low Countries and the Baltic regions. Their ancestors had fled to Britain in an attempt to escape from Napoleon's empire and his discriminatory policies with regards to the Jews.⁴⁹ But the British industrial revolution created social pressures of its own. Anti Jewish sentiments arose particularly in the larger cities. Many of the British Jews left their only recently adopted new home country and migrated to the USA, Canada and later Australia, in search of a new Zion-their Jewish Utopia, where they would enjoy full civil rights and religious freedom. Significantly, one of the most respected members of the Jewish community in Britain, Isaac Lyon Goldschmidt, became a director of the newly formed New Zealand Company.

⁴⁸ See death notices in the *Lake Wakatipu Mail* register, Lakes District Museum, Arrowtown, for March 1885.

⁴⁹ O. Rosenthal, *Not Strictly Kosher-Pioneer Jews in New Zealand*, New York, 1991, p. 8.

At the time, the Ashkenazi Jews of central Europe were experiencing various levels of political and social discrimination, which encouraged them to join their British counterparts as these migrated to the New World. Hermann Arndt himself was born in 1831 in Pomerania, then a north-eastern province of Prussia, situated on the Baltic Sea. According to his obituary⁵⁰ he spent a few years in Canada, before arriving in New Zealand and settling in the Queenstown district in 1863. Throughout his years in New Zealand, he associated closely with other German Jewish migrants in the area. Hermann Arndt was not interested in the diggings himself, as was the case with majority of Otago's Jewish settlers. They preferred to set up as professionals, traders and supply merchants in the rapidly expanding communities in the Wakatipu and Arrow districts. Hermann Arndt first ran a fancy goods shop in Rees Street in Queenstown before selling out and managing a business for 'Messrs. Hallenstein & Co.' in Arrowtown. He then entered into a partnership with Bendix Hallenstein himself, a partnership which would determine the financial fortunes and social status of the Arndt family for decades to come.

Like Hermann Arndt, Bendix Hallenstein (1834-1905) was of German-Jewish descent, a native of Bisperode near Braunschweig.⁵¹ He arrived in New Zealand in 1863 and eventually settled in Queenstown. In the wake of the Otago gold rush, he became one of the wealthiest businessmen of the region. Hallenstein operated a very profitable general store in Queenstown and in 1866 opened the Brunswick Flour Mill in Franklin, the first flour mill in Otago. To safeguard his business interests against the demands of a central government, Bendix Hallenstein became involved in local politics, and served as the Mayor of Queenstown for three terms. To further emulate the lifestyle of the British landed gentry, he purchased 1500 acres of farmland at Speargrass Flat.

Hallenstein named the estate Thurlby Domain, after his wife's family farm in Lancashire, and proceeded to build a large homestead near Speargrass Flat Road. There he lived in semi-retirement from 1871. By then, many of the gold diggers had moved either to the West Coast or back to Australia, forcing Hallenstein to scale down his local businesses to cater to the needs of what was still a thriving farming community. Two years later he decided to move into the manufacture of clothing, largely to establish a secure supply for

⁵⁰ Obituary, *Lake Wakatipu Mail*, 6 March 1885 (unpaginated)

⁵¹ For biographical information concerning Bendix Hallenstein see L. Vickerman, *A Colonial Capitalist: Bendix Hallenstein*, B.A. Honours Thesis, University of Otago, 1981. Bendix Hallenstein was born 24 January 1834, the son of Reuben and Helene Hallenstein. His father was merchant himself, a typical profession for German Jews, who for many centuries had been barred from owning land or practising in any of the professions. Having gained his first work experience in the Manchester based shipping company owned by a relative, he joined his brothers Isaac and Michaelis when they set up a general store in the gold fields of Victoria in 1857. Six years later, the Hallenstein brothers and their families arrived in Invercargill, but his brothers eventually returned to Melbourne and London.

his own shops. Before moving to Dunedin, he sold his Cromwell shop to Hermann Arndt.⁵²

Hermann Arndt took over the management of the Cromwell store in 1874, and it was at this time that his wife Marie herself became well acquainted with Bendix and Mary Hallenstein⁵³. Hermann Arndt had married Marie Beaver in Dunedin in 1872.⁵⁴ They had four children, Charles Henry, called Harry (1873-1905), Edith (1877-1961), Florence Mathilda, known as Jennie, (1879-1955) and Hermina (1885-1926), all of whom were born in the district. Marie Arndt first stayed with the Hallensteins while she was waiting for her own home in Cromwell to be furnished. Even after the Hallensteins had left Thurlby, the families continued to meet on social occasions in Dunedin⁵⁵, where Marie Arndt would sometimes visit her family for several months at a time, presumably to escape the isolation of Cromwell.

In 1877, Hallenstein and Arndt became partners at Thurlby. The former had not made a success of the farm, but Arndt enjoyed the country lifestyle more than Hallenstein ever did. They divided the estate into fifty one hundred acre blocks, which were auctioned off in 1882. Arndt himself managed the homestead and 300 acres. In the meantime Bendix Hallenstein had established a highly successful clothing factory in Dunedin and managed to survive the depression of the 1880's with most of his former business empire intact. The only casualty was the Cromwell shop, which had little success with the failure of the gold fields. The venture, which was still under the management of Hermann Arndt, was closed in 1885, the year he had moved his family to Thurlby Domain. Apart from the farm, Hermann Arndt owned a substantial amount of land in the Lower Hawea District. These assets, he hoped, would provide some financial security for his young wife and children after his death. Ultimately, it was his friend and business partner Bendix Hallenstein who took control of the family's finances in the role of paternalistic adviser to Marie Arndt. He did so as a sign of respect for a friend, whom he valued more for his personal integrity than his business acumen.

During his years in central Otago, Arndt earned the reputation of being 'frugal and

⁵² Ibid, p. 17.

⁵³ Letters from Mary Hallenstein to her brother, 11 January 1874 and 3 November 1874. All of the Hallenstein correspondence quoted in this chapter is held at the HL (Hallenstein Papers).

⁵⁴ According to Mina Arndt's birth certificate, held at the Queenstown District Court, her parents were married on 19 November 1872 at Dunedin.

⁵⁵ Letter from Sara Hallenstein to her uncle, 23 April 1876:

'Mrs Arndt and her little boy have been in staying in Dunedin for more than six weeks. Harry is such a handsome little fellow, and he can speak so plainly. They came down a few days before Christmas for Mrs. Herman's wedding.'

industrious, of a quiet, genial disposition and highly respected by everyone throughout the district.⁵⁶ He had been suffering from Bright's disease, for which he had sought treatment at the 'Hot Springs' in the North Island a few months before his death. Bendix Hallenstein himself had travelled to Thurlby to see him for one last time. Writing on 28 March 1885, he informed his brother that 'our old faithful friend Arndt' had died and continued:

I had been up with him for a week expecting his end every day, but he lived for another week after I had to go. He suffered a good deal when it came to the last & we were all thankful when his end came.

In the absence of his highly pregnant wife and his children, Hermann Arndt was buried in Dunedin, 'according to the rites and ceremonies of the Jewish faith'⁵⁷, as witnessed by Bendix Hallenstein. Expressing his condolences to the young widow he wrote:

Dear Mrs. Arndt The funeral of our dear departed friend took place this afternoon, most of the Jewish residents & a good few others attended to pay their last respects to a man who was held in high esteem by all who knew him. Many expressed their sympathy for you dear friend and it must ever be a consolation to you to have been united to a man so true & good & who stood so high above the generality of man. God grant you strength to bear your trial with fortitude so that you might be able to devote yourself to the increased duties which now devolve upon you & in which, as far as I can, I shall always be glad to aid you.⁵⁸

Following the death of her husband, Marie Arndt saw no reason to stay in Queenstown. Lacking the interest or the confidence to run the farm on her own, she saw few choices for herself. Her sister Laura Newman, her widowed mother and a maid sent to Thurlby by the Hallensteins, all of whom had supported Marie Arndt during the last months of her husband's illness, had returned to Dunedin. Socially isolated, she was left to care by herself for four small children and obviously wanted to be closer to her family and friends again. Furthermore, financially, she was facing uncertain times, because ultimately Hermann Arndt's legacy yielded only about half as much money as he had hoped.

As was stipulated in her husband's will, Marie handed over the winding up of the estate to Bendix Hallenstein and her brother Alexander Beaver, a process which took more than a year. However highly Hallenstein thought of Hermann Arndt as a person, he did not consider him to be businessman of his own standing and deplored some of Hermann

⁵⁶ Obituary, *Lake Wakatipu Mail*, 6 March 1885 (unpaginated).

⁵⁷ Ibid.

⁵⁸ Letter from Bendix Hallenstein to Marie Arndt, 6 March 1885.

Arndt's investment decisions: 'All the assets are in agricultural land, which is very depressed just now & and if it realises nett £5000 I shall be very well satisfied though poor Arndt always reckoned that he was worth £8000-£10000.'⁵⁹ For an entrepreneur like Hallenstein, who was in the process of building a nationwide business empire, the Arndt legacy was small change indeed, but he nevertheless conscientiously supervised the winding-up of the estate. In frequent instructions to his lawyer and Marie Arndt, he endeavoured to maximise the value of the land assets and protected Marie Arndt, as much as he could, against the unexpected and unsubstantiated claims Hermann Arndt's brother George made against the estate.

Bendix Hallenstein's correspondence regarding his friend's estate in fact furnishes the only existing proof that Hermann Arndt had a brother in the colony. It appeared that George Arndt had been in his brother's employ at some stage, and for several months following Hermann Arndt's death continued to press Marie Arndt for moneys apparently owing to him. An exasperated Hallenstein finally wrote to his lawyer :

George Arndt called on me & I wanted to persuade him to go home & that I would pay his passage, but he would not listen to it. As to his wages he claimed to have more due to him & and that he had not anything from his brother since the sale of the land and he is talking a a lot of rubbish. I told him I might give him a few pounds as a present to pay his fare to Queenstown however he did not call in again. I presume he is again in the Arrow district.⁶⁰

By that time, Marie Arndt had already moved her family to Dunedin. She had stayed at Thurlby only long enough to see the farm sold and left the district almost immediately following the birth of her youngest child.⁶¹ On settlement of the estate, she received a sum of about £ 5400⁶², enough money to provide initially some financial security for herself and her children as they slowly adjusted to their new lifestyle.

Newly widowed, and lacking ongoing financial support, Marie Arndt had to renegotiate her role within her family and Dunedin society. While not impoverished overnight, her future and that of her small children, then aged eleven, seven and five and newborn, was by no means secure. For years to come she had to rely on the good will of Bendix

⁵⁹ Letter from Bendix Hallenstein to his brother Michaelis, 28 March 1885.

⁶⁰ Letter from Bendix Hallenstein to his lawyer, 16 April 1886.

⁶¹ According to the Lakes County Council rate books for the Arrow Riding, Marie Arndt had left Thurlby Domain before June 1885. The new occupier was a Colonel Morris, while the executors of Hermann Arndt's will were listed as the owners. The 1886/87 entry lists Marie Arndt as the owner and occupier. However, Dunedin is given as her address. The rates were paid, as was the case the year before, by Colonel Morris, who is finally listed as owner and occupier in the 1887/88 entry.

⁶² Probate, Estate of Hermann Arndt, 5 September 1887 (National Archives, Dunedin).

Hallenstein.⁶³ He cautiously administered payments to Marie Arndt from Hermann Arndt's legacy, while she constructed for herself a new position in Dunedin's social circles. As a middle-class woman in restrained circumstances, she settled well below the 'dress circle' of colonial Dunedin and came to rely on the support of her family. In 1887, Marie Arndt was listed as residing in Maitland Street, but had moved to nearby Walker Street a year later.⁶⁴ There she shared a house with the family of her sister Laura Newman, who had three young children herself, Otto, May, and Bertie.⁶⁵ Laura's husband Benno Newman worked as a commercial traveller. The Arndt and Newman children remained in close contact for much of their lives, and when Marie Arndt took her oldest children to Melbourne (most likely some time in the late 1890s) Mina remained in Dunedin in the care of Laura Newman.⁶⁶

In 1889 the household was joined by Alexander Beaver, Marie Arndt's brother, who had previously lived in Auckland and Christchurch. In 1890, Marie Arndt moved to Heriot Row, where she again shared a house with her sister. In 1892, she moved again, this time to No. 250 Leith Street, where she lived with her mother, Bertha Beaver, until 1903. It took Marie Arndt almost seven years after her husband's death until she managed to settle her family in a respectable, but modest neighbourhood just north of the centre of town. During their years in Leith Street, the Arndts were joined again by Alexander Beaver, who in 1892 had established the firm of 'A. Beaver & Co., Jewellers' in Leith Street⁶⁷, and traded

throughout the colony; three or four travellers are employed, and Mr Beaver personally makes periodical trips. The firm imports from Great Britain, Europe and America, and acts as sole agents in the South Island for Meyer's Liquid Putz Cream.⁶⁸

Alexander Beaver never married and remained close to his sister Marie Arndt and her children for the rest of his life. Thus Mina and her sisters learned to equate family with security, and Mina, very much the baby of the family and affectionately known as 'Buds', never became completely independent of this extensive network. George Arndt, because

⁶³ Letter from Bendix Hallenstein to Marie Arndt, 12 April 1898: 'Dear Mrs Arndt- I returned from Wellington yesterday & Mr Fels told me that you wanted £50 which I am afraid I cannot legally do, at any rate I wish to consult my solicitor first...'

⁶⁴ All the family's New Zealand addresses were taken from *Stone's Directories*.

⁶⁵ See Appendix I for a family tree.

⁶⁶ Undated interview between Rae Arndt and Patricia White (Family collection, Wellington).

⁶⁷ *Cyclopaedia of New Zealand, Otago Southland Edition*, 1905, p. 365.

The business later moved to 89 Princes Street, a three-storey brick building, with the ground floor used as offices and showroom for jewellery, clocks and optical goods. The second floor accommodated 'fancy goods of all descriptions' while glass ware and crockery were displayed on the upper floor.

⁶⁸ *Ibid.*

he had once been perceived as a threat to Marie Arndt, was excluded from the family unit, which centred entirely on the Beavers. Not surprisingly, even the family contacts the Arndts cultivated overseas were all part of the Beaver family tree. Her German heritage remained important to Marie Arndt and significantly shaped the life and career of her youngest daughter, Mina.

Mina's grandfather, Dr. Henry Beaver, formerly known as Hirsch Bibergeil, (1809-c.1872) was a native of Schwetz, a small city south of Gdansk and not far from Hermann Arndt's home province.⁶⁹ With his brother Louis, he immigrated first to England, where Louis set up as a merchant.⁷⁰ Wanting to adapt to his new Anglo Saxon environment, Henry Beaver had changed his name before finally settling in New Zealand. Most of his other male relatives worked as merchants in a family network which rivalled that of the Hallensteins and stretched from New Zealand and Australia to England and Germany. Equally international was the family network on the side of Mina's grandmother, Polish-born Bertha, née Kühlbrandt, and it was this branch of the family tree, which produced a number of well known artists. Bertha's sister, Hannchen Neumann lived in Berlin and had made a name for herself as a poetess, translator and as a patron of the arts. Her grandchildren, the sculptor Georg Wolf (or Woolf) and the painter Julie Wolf Thorn (later Wolfthorn) were well known, Berlin based artists. As was the case with the Beaver/Bibergeil family, Bertha's other relatives were on the whole highly educated and commercially successful people, with family members living as far afield as Rome and San Francisco. Marie Arndt then could proudly point to an upper middle-class family background of successful professionals, whose achievements confirmed the value the European Jewish community placed on education, for both males *and* females. As a widow of modest means, she was unfortunately unable to guarantee her children the same educational opportunities which many of their European relatives or wealthier peers in Dunedin would have taken for granted. Nevertheless, her experience could only have encouraged Marie Arndt to urge her daughters to pursue some sort of socially acceptable professional training as a means to gain financial independence. Such training would safeguard her daughters against poverty should they remain unmarried or suffer the same predicament she had. In this respect, Dunedin, perhaps more so than New Zealand's other major settlements, offered the best possible prospects for young girls like Mina Arndt and her sisters.

⁶⁹ According to research conducted by May Manoy and Charles Henry Arndt (1905-1985), Henry Beaver was a highly educated specialist in diabetes and had written his medical thesis in Latin. Another brother, Adolf Bibergeil, apparently was a court physician in Moscow.

⁷⁰ There exists conflicting evidence as to the birthplace of Marie Arndt herself. The birth certificate of Jennie states that her mother was born in Manchester, whereas Marie Arndt's death certificate listed her as having been born in Poland.

At the time, Dunedin was a thriving and steadily expanding colonial township of about 50,000 people,⁷¹ leading the colony not only in its economic development, but also, in keeping with Scottish traditions, with its educational facilities for both girls and boys. Originally a quiet and rather primitive market town of largely makeshift wooden buildings, the Dunedin of the 1850s had little to offer in terms of a cultural infrastructure. All of this was to change with the onset of the Otago gold rush of the 1860s. For the next ten years, in a complete reversal of the usual pattern, the economic growth in the South of New Zealand outstripped that of the North, with far-reaching consequences for the cultural history of the country.⁷² Dunedin's economy burgeoned and a new, rapidly expanding middle-class set about transforming the city in accordance with their European ideals of a civilised lifestyle.⁷³ Most importantly, they liked to think of their city as free of the social ills of the Old World and were eager to provide the younger generations with similar educational facilities to those available in the 'mother country', in order to ensure the ongoing prosperity of the region.

Thus, in 1863, Otago Boys' High School was founded, followed in 1869 by the University of Otago. The Otago School of Art, the colony's first, was opened a year later, and soon after, Otago Girls' High School became one of the first state secondary schools for girls in the world. Both the University and the School of Art were open to women, which meant that the educational opportunities in Dunedin for females surpassed those offered by most provincial cities elsewhere in the world. Thus Marie Arndt had resettled her family in one of the most prosperous, progressive and sophisticated cities in New Zealand, which offered many educational and professional opportunities to her children.⁷⁴

From 1892 to 1897 Mina attended George Street Public School (fig. 3), 'a substantial

⁷¹ In the 1901 census, the total population for Dunedin, including the suburbs was given at 52 390 persons. By 1915, that number had increased to 69 158. The founding of Dunedin, although organised in conjunction with Edward Gibbon Wakefield's New Zealand Company, was largely motivated by the religious and social conflicts affecting Scotland by 1840. The first settlers arrived in Otago Harbour in 1848. Initially, the town's inhabitants were about two-thirds Scottish Presbyterian. The outnumbered Anglicans, however, proved to be as commercially successful as their Scottish counterparts and soon outnumbered the Scots. The original idea of a Free Church settlement was further eroded when much of the land was sold to absentee landowners and property speculators in England and Ireland. Yet the Scots continued to determine much of the character of the settlement.

⁷² See P. Entwisle, *William Matthew Hodgkins & His Circle*, Dunedin, 1984.

⁷³ Substantial public and private buildings in stone and brick replaced the older wooden structures. Walkways were established in the surrounding countryside, especially in the Leith Valley, for the edification of visitors and locals alike. The citizens of Dunedin were proud of their city and their region and many referred to Dunedin as a 'second Melbourne'. See *ibid.*, p. 56.

⁷⁴ From a young age, Marie Arndt's only son Harry Arndt showed an interest in the retail business and like his uncle Alexander Beaver received occasional business advice from Bendix Hallenstein. Listed as a salesman, he was still residing in his mother's house in 1898 and 1899. Jennie and Edith, both young adults, were not listed as being in paid employment at this time.

two-storey brick and stone building, occupying a fine site at the extreme end of George Street.⁷⁵ A relatively large school (in 1905, it had a roll of about 760 girls and boys), George Street Public was headed by Scottish born David Alexander McNicoll. From a position as first assistant teacher at the South Melbourne School, he came to New Zealand to head the Queenstown school in 1876, where he first had opportunity to meet the Arndt family. Later he was transferred to Outram and finally took up the position of headmaster of the newly established George Street Public School in 1880. There he was joined in office by headmistress Isabella Turnbull, a fellow Scot who was born in Glasgow and raised and educated in New Zealand. She underwent teacher training in Dunedin, obtaining an additional certificate in drawing and singing and, like McNicoll, was a member of the Otago Educational Institute. Isabella Turnbull's interest in the arts was typical of the general emphasis on the drawing and painting skills in the higher education of girls for much of the Victorian era.⁷⁶ Edith was the first of the Arndt sisters to show an interest in the fine and applied arts. She was enrolled for only one year at Otago Girls High School in 1889, before attending Girton College (fig. 4) for another three years.⁷⁷ Girton College was an affordable, private school for girls, which supported both Edith's and later Mina's interest in the fine arts, music and poetry.

The school was founded in 1886 by Caroline Freeman, who was born in Yorkshire but completed a B.A. at Otago University in 1885. Girton College, a school for girls from the age of eight years upwards, started out with only four pupils, but was soon attended to full capacity. Among its students were many 'ladies and teachers who had entered for special courses of study.'⁷⁸ Caroline Freeman, who later disposed of her interest in the college to Miss Frances Ross M.A., established a school of the same name in Christchurch in 1897. While not much is recorded of the curriculum of Girton College in Dunedin, its Christchurch equivalent, presumably of a similar standard, was described in 1905 as follows:

Thoroughness of understanding in connection with all the subjects taught is the aim of all the teaching at Girton College, and one of the means to that end is the maintenance of a genuinely friendly feeling between the teachers and the pupils...The college contains a remarkably fine hall, with complete appointments for its educational purposes. At one end of the room there is a

⁷⁵ *Cyclopaedia of New Zealand, Otago Southland Edition*, 1905, p. 165 .

⁷⁶ For an analysis of the involvement of women in the fine and applied arts in Victorian Britain, see, for example, Pamela Gerrish Nunn, *Victorian Women Artists*, London, 1987, and *Problem Pictures*, Aldershot, 1995.

⁷⁷ Information supplied from the Otago Early Settler's Museum. Letter from Paul Beale, 13 December 1995.

⁷⁸ *Cyclopaedia of New Zealand, Canterbury edition*, 1905, p.183 .

large stage, fitted with very choice casts especially imported from Bruccianis, in London, as models for the drawing classes. Every girl has to read and recite from the platform with a view to perfection in the art of elocution. Yaggy's anatomical studies, consisting of splendid plates of the human body, have been procured at great expense, together with other modern educational apparatus... there are about 2000 volumes of sound and suitable literature in the library, and the office is furnished with a piano, musical literature, and other modern conveniences.⁷⁹

According to surviving school records, Mina Arndt was enrolled at Girton College from January 1898 to December 1902.⁸⁰ An additional entry in the school records indicates that Mina was also receiving tuition in Latin. At the time, she also developed her enduring interest in poetry.⁸¹ Mina Arndt left Girton College at the age of seventeen, having received a school education of a high standard, as befitting her family background. The fact that she attended a school for Gentiles (a traditional Jewish education was not available in Dunedin at the time) meant that most of her female role models, friends and community contacts would have come from Scottish Presbyterian or Anglican families. But the two women with the highest public, professional profiles during Mina's formative years emerged from Dunedin's Jewish congregation, becoming the first female barrister and first female physician to practise in the colony.

⁷⁹ Ibid, p.182-183.

⁸⁰ Letter from Paul Beale, 13 December 1995.

⁸¹ While still a student at the college, Mina wrote the first of her surviving poems, commemorating the death of her grandmother Bertha Beaver (Family collection, Motueka):

To Granny, May 10 1902

'The Angel of Death came hovering down
and smiled as he broke the tight
chords of her soul
He said-Peace forever & sweet,
sweet repose
for God has seen everything and God alone knows.

Come tarry no longer, but fly up
with me
To the realm of the righteous for they await
thee
And there they are singing, in one sweet accord
A song of glad praises & thanks to
the Lord.

All these dear departed ones
Who have waited so long to welcome
thy spirit
Are singing this song,
Peace for ever
and sweet, sweet repose
for God has seen everything
and God alone knows

Ethel Benjamin (1875-1943), who had obtained a law degree at Otago University, was admitted to the bar in 1897, while Emily Hancock Siedeberg (1873-1968), graduated with a Bachelor of Science degree from the same university in 1896 and subsequently undertook postgraduate study in Berlin, Dublin and later in Edinburgh to complete her medical studies in obstetrics, gynaecology and children's diseases. Earlier, as a young graduate, Benjamin had argued for a wider range of employment opportunities for women, which would afford them financial independence as well as a sense of self as fulfilled human beings. But in reflection of the widespread social discomfort, which the women's liberation movement had aroused earlier in the decade, she warned women against adopting a 'masculine' approach to life. Instead, they should develop the heart as well as the brain. Thus 'the ideal new woman will perfect herself, body, mind and soul'.⁸² Emily Siedeberg supported conservative views on the aims of womanhood more consistently. In anticipation of the 'cult of domesticity', which greeted Mina Arndt on her return from Europe in 1915, Siedeberg argued that a woman's education should aim to make her a better informed mother and wife.⁸³ The careers of both Benjamin and Siedeberg illustrate the dilemma of many of the younger women of their time, who ultimately failed to challenge the traditional, prescribed roles for women they themselves had vowed to escape. However, more relevant to Mina Arndt, a young Jewish woman with professional aspirations, was the fact that her potential role models Benjamin and Siedeberg succeeded during a time when racial discrimination had not yet begun to affect the Jewish community of New Zealand. Indeed, while Mina Arndt was growing up, members of the Dunedin Jewish congregation were able to pursue their careers and political ambitions with unprecedented freedom and public support.

When considering some of the main categories by which the level of acceptance of an immigrant group is determined, for example the absorption of its members into the middle-class of the new society, its social and economic achievement as well as its 'cultural compatibility' with the dominant population, the Jews of Otago have to be

⁸²Ethel Benjamin, quoted in: C. MacDonald, M. Penfold, B. Williams (eds.), *The Book of New Zealand Women.*, Wellington, 1991, p. 76. Benjamin married a Jewish share broker from Wellington when she was in her early thirties. They moved to England in 1908, where Ethel Benjamin could practice law from 1919 onwards. She had no children and throughout her married life enjoyed a comfortable middle-class life style.

⁸³In 1928, Siedeberg married an American banker. She never had any children of her own, but her ideas tied in with the prescriptive ideology of Truby King, the founder of the Plunket movement, which took a strong hold in New Zealand from about 1915.

judged one of the most highly integrated immigrant groups of the district.⁸⁴ It was not only business men and entrepreneurs such as Hermann Arndt and Bendix Hallenstein who contributed to the reputation of the local Jewry as an asset to the Dunedin community in particular and New Zealand society in general. Other members of the Otago Jewish congregation also played an important part in the early political history of New Zealand, the most prominent of whom was Julius Vogel (1835-1899), a businessman, journalist, and politician.⁸⁵ Vogel, like his one-time journalistic collaborator and fellow member of the Dunedin Jewish congregation, Mark Cohen (1849-1928), took a keen interest in social reform and the advocacy of the rights of women.

Possibly inspired by his wife, Mary Clayton, Vogel introduced a female suffrage bill into Parliament in 1887, while Cohen, together with his wife Sara Isaacs, (who was the organisation's vice president) supported the Women's Franchise League. Cohen, who also arrived in the province in the wake of the 1860s gold rush, championed the free kindergarten system, first in Dunedin and later throughout the colony, as well as supporting the establishment of a free public library for Dunedin. Cohen was elected to the Otago Education Board in the 1890s and remained involved in education politics and a championing women's rights until his death in 1928. Marie Arndt herself signed the suffrage petition of 1893.⁸⁶ Her daughters, too, appeared on various electoral rolls as soon as they were old enough to register as voters. However, in this context it is important to remember, that one of the most important arguments New Zealand's suffragists used in their struggle to achieve universal franchise, was the assertion that women would use their right to vote to support policies which safeguarded women in

⁸⁴ This is certainly the case when one compares the positions of Jewish, Chinese and Lebanese settlers in the region. See M. K. Cooper, *The Jewish Kehilah in 19th-century Dunedin: A Cultural and Economic Contribution*, B. A. Honours Thesis, University of Otago, 1986, p. 27. Only the testimony of Charles Brasch, grandson of Bendix Hallenstein, serves as a reminder that Jews in Dunedin did from time to time encounter a form of discrimination. See C. Brasch, *Indirections*, Wellington, 1988, p.110: 'Social acceptance mattered...even in so small a community as Dunedin it could not be taken for granted. No one of Jewish birth should count on being accepted. Prejudice waited everywhere, and might declare itself at any time, if not too blatantly....That prejudice was not overt in Dunedin and my father was too friendly and normal in every way to excite it; but it showed from time to time.'

⁸⁵ Of Anglo-Jewish descent, Vogel arrived in Otago via the Australian gold fields in 1861, when he settled in Dunedin and became co-founder of the *Otago Daily Times* (ODT), the country's first daily newspaper. Through his involvement with provincial politics he became a longstanding member of successive New Zealand governments from 1868 to 1888. During his terms as Prime Minister, from April 1873 to July 1875 and then again from February to August 1876 he committed the country to expensive immigration and public works policies. Being an unsuccessful businessman himself, he took up journalism again and in the 1890's, not long after his retirement, returned to England.

⁸⁶ 1893 Woman's Suffrage Petition, No.185: Marie Arndt, of Leith Street, Dunedin. (National Archives, Wellington)

their capacities as wives and mothers.⁸⁷ Therefore one cannot assume that Marie Arndt had any roles in mind for her daughters other than the traditional ones, despite her support for the suffrage movement. Her belief that women should have their say in society was most likely linked to the active involvement of Jewish women in their community and assertiveness of their traditional role models. As historian Odeda Rosenthal has pointed out, Jewish history abounds with female role models who differed significantly from their Christian counterparts. Jewish culture does not teach women to follow the example of the Madonna, the repentant sinner or the suffering saint, but such outspoken women as Deborah the judge, Yael the military spy, or Esther, the literate counterpart to an illiterate husband.⁸⁸ Rosenthal further suggests that Jewish women developed an interpretation of Jewish culture independent of religious dogma, because 'Jewish women have not been encouraged by religious leaders or taught much of the traditional wisdom of the sages, the Torah and Hebrew. Yet Jewish women had to teach their children, often alone, about the tradition and heritage of their faith and culture.'⁸⁹ In that, Marie Arndt endeavoured to impart on her children an appreciation of a good education, social refinement and a measure of independence. As far as the adherence to religious practices is concerned, she adopted the moderate stance of her own father, a fact which needs to be understood in order to interpret the content and shifting trends in much of Mina Arndt's later work.

As many other Jews of the Dunedin congregation, Henry Beaver sought to assimilate as fully as possible into the local community. For many professional Jews, this involved becoming a member of the Freemasons. Dr. Beaver was a member of the Albion Lodge and in 1870, a presentation was made to him in acknowledgement of the lodge's 'entire satisfaction with the medical services rendered by him' during the preceding year.⁹⁰ By contrast, his name is not mentioned in any of the records of the Dunedin Jewish Congregation, indicating that his involvement with the congregation, if any, remained peripheral. There are a number of reasons for the less orthodox approach to their faith adopted not only by the Beaver family. Generally, the colonial environment allowed for more experimentation in lifestyle, and fewer consequences had to be feared if one deviated from rigid adherence to religious dogma.⁹¹ This was particularly true for the small Jewish community in New Zealand, which up to the 1920s enjoyed unprecedented

⁸⁷ The issues raised by the New Zealand suffrage movement have been analysed by a number of historians. See for example: Raewyn Dalziel, *The Colonial Helpmeet: Women's Role and the Vote in Nineteenth-Century New Zealand*, *New Zealand Journal of History*, October 1977, p. 112-123.

⁸⁸ O. Rosenthal, p. 155.

⁸⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 155-156.

⁹⁰ *The Otago Witness*, 26 February 1870, p. 14.

⁹¹ Ian Breward, *Religion and New Zealand Society*, Dunedin, 1979, p. 143.

equality and freedom from prejudice and racism.⁹² Racism in colonial New Zealand at the time was largely aimed at Chinese and Dalmatian migrants, while the Jews received considerable public praise. As late as the 1940s, the then Prime Minister Peter Fraser went as far as addressing the Jews as the most valuable members of New Zealand's colonial society:

You have contributed to its uprising, to the development of the pioneering work in every sphere-industrial, commercial, legal and in the worlds of culture and art, a great contribution - and will continue to give that. May our mountains for ever be freedom's ramparts on the sea. The Jewish people are our best people.⁹³

In a 'host' society which was this appreciative of its Jewish community, it was comparatively easy for Jews to experiment with a secular lifestyle. No longer did they need to cling to the strict rules and traditions of the orthodox Jewish faith which united and comforted them in the face of Gentile discrimination, and at the same time continued to identify them as 'other' in a non-Jewish society.

The erosion of Jewish religious traditions can further be attributed to the fact that it was difficult to attract Rabbis to a remote locality like New Zealand, although at the time the Dunedin Jewish Congregation fared a little better in this respect than most Jewish communities in New Zealand.⁹⁴ Instead of public adherence to orthodox practices, communal self help and a spirit of solidarity was to become the hallmark of the

⁹² The only significant protest against Jewish migration to New Zealand in the 19th-century arose when, in 1893, the news spread that 500 destitute Russian Jews were intending to settle in the colony. It was feared that the arrival of such a large group would cause 'social difficulties', as the largely poor migrants might not have the necessary skills to usefully contribute to New Zealand society. Previously, New Zealand initiatives raised money for destitute Russian Jews and in 1891 even petitioned the Russian Tsar to show mercy to his 5 million Jewish subjects. Since 1871, when Tsar Alexander III made the Jews collectively responsible for the assassination of Alexander II, pogroms had been put in place which resulted in unrelenting persecution and repression of the Russian Jews. Thus, in the years between 1871 and 1903, 700 000 Russian Jews fled from their home country and resettled all over the world.

⁹³ Quoted in L. M. Goldman, *The History of the Jews in New Zealand*, Wellington, 1958, p. 237.

⁹⁴ The first Dunedin synagogue had been established in a wooden building in George Street in 1862, where, at that time, the membership consisted of forty-three men. Regular services were being held from then on, accepting the prayers and rituals of the English Jews and placing the congregation under the jurisdiction of then Chief Rabbi, Dr. N. A. Adler. In 1881, a new synagogue had been erected in Moray Place, the centre of a then very active Jewish community which had begun to involve its female members more widely. In September 1873, the Dunedin congregation decided to become a branch of the Anglo-Jewish Organisation, which co-operated with the Alliance Israelite Universelle of France in the promotion of Jewish education in Eastern Europe, Greece, Rumania, Turkey and Egypt. From 1875 to 1892, the Dunedin Jewish congregation was led by the Rev. Bernard Liechtenstein, a strictly pious and orthodox Jew, a respected scholar of Hebrew and well versed in the Talmud. He was succeeded by J. Harrison of Norwich, England, who remained in Dunedin from 1893 to 1897. A year later (the community having been led by lay people for the interim), Rev. A. T. Chodowski arrived, who was a strong supporter of all 'social movements of a benevolent and charitable nature.' See V. Balkind, *A Contribution to the History of the Jews of New Zealand*, M.A. Thesis, University of New Zealand, 1928, p. 16.

secularised lifestyle of the colonial Jews, exemplifying Jewish identity alongside the traditional emphasis on family life and certain patterns in career choices.⁹⁵ This was not only the case in New Zealand but also in other New World societies.⁹⁶ In Dunedin, the public face of the Jewish community was determined to a large degree by the activities of its female members. The women of the congregation were brought together in the 'Hand-to-Hand' Society, which ministered to the needs of distressed women in the Otago province and beyond. At the turn of the century, the Dunedin congregation was considered exemplary, as far as its benevolent activities were concerned. In 1891, it had formed the British Empire's first Chevra Kadisha (The Holy Brotherhood), under the jurisdiction of the chief Rabbi of the English Jews, to administer the last rites to the dead, to take care of the sick and to ensure the upkeep of the Jewish cemetery. This benevolent attitude towards those less fortunate than themselves was one which would make a lasting impact of the Arndt sisters. In her will of 1955, Jennie left large sums of money to a wide cross-section of charitable organisations, such as the Salvation Army, the Wellington City Mission and the Jewish Relief and Welfare Fund and the Chevra Kadisha. Her benevolent attitudes transcended religious boundaries and reflects the social position adopted by the Arndts, aware of their Jewish heritage, but just as firmly rooted and actively involved in the wider, Gentile community.

Significantly, Mina Arndt's decision to train as a an artist in the Western European tradition, saw her move into a professional arena which until the 19th-century had been an almost exclusively Gentile practice.⁹⁷ She was in fact one of only two professional Jewish artists to emerge in New Zealand around the turn of the century. The other, Grace Joel, was also a member of the Dunedin congregation and just one of the many female professional role models Mina Arndt could look towards, when she considered a career in the arts for herself. Indeed, Mina Arndt was fortunate to grow up at a time when female artists achieved a particularly high level of visibility in the colonial art circles worldwide and in Dunedin, a thriving art scene in the British tradition had established itself as early as the 1860s. Thus, as she grew up, Mina Arndt could look towards an established, if somewhat short tradition of local art production, to which she felt she could make a useful contribution while allowing her to earn a living in a reputable and - for women - socially acceptable profession.

⁹⁵ See Appendix II for a list of occupations of Jewish males, c. 1926.

⁹⁶ See for example I. Howe, *The Immigrant Jews of New York*, London, 1976 or W.D. Rubinstein, *A History of the Jews in the English Speaking World*, London, 1996.

⁹⁷ The Fine Arts in the Western European tradition represented an occupational field in which the European Jewry for religious reasons and as a result of anti-Semitic discrimination, had only come into any prominence in the latter half of the 19th-century. See Cecil Roth (ed.), *Jewish Art - An Illustrated History*, London, 1961.

In keeping with the overall colonial pattern, Dunedin's first artists were largely amateurs, and most of them were men. In 1865, Russian-born painter Nicholas Chevalier arrived in Dunedin, and was awarded a £200 grant from the Otago Provincial Council to produce a series of paintings with the aim to attract further immigrants and tourists to the region.⁹⁸ The Fine Arts section of the New Zealand Industrial Exhibition, held in 1865, represented the first substantial exhibition of Western European art ever to be staged in New Zealand. In 1869, William Matthew Hodgkins organised another large exhibition, which he hoped would lead to the establishment of a permanent art collection for the city,⁹⁹ a plan which came to fruition only some fifteen years later.¹⁰⁰ However, as has been discussed earlier, in keeping with its progressive educational policies, the city supported the formation of one of the two main supports of Dunedin's fledgling art scene, the Otago School of Art, established in 1870. Run by the Scottish painter David Con Hutton,¹⁰¹ its first Drawing Master, the school operated along the lines of similar institutions in Victorian Britain, putting much emphasis on the acquisition of such technical skills as drawing from the cast, composition and perspective. Although of limited ability as an artist, Hutton proved to be a popular teacher and as many as 85 students enrolled at the Otago School of Art in its first year.¹⁰² Thus a professional attitude to the arts developed in the region, which was soon complemented by the founding of the Otago Art Society (OAS) in 1875.¹⁰³

From the beginning, the OAS, like similar organisations throughout New Zealand, provided an important forum for the exhibition and discussion of colonial art, involving the two main protagonists of artistic production, the artist and her or his patron. The New Zealand art societies made it their business to promote actively most European art forms, paying special attention to the art of painting. They reached the zenith of their popularity

⁹⁸ See Otago Settlers Museum, *Southern Lights -150 Years of Otago Landscape Art*, Dunedin, 1998, p. 22. For a more detailed account of Chevalier's journey through the Otago province, see M. Day, *Nicholas Chevalier - Artist*, Wellington, 1981, pp. 19-27.

⁹⁹ Entwisle, p. 35.

¹⁰⁰ Ibid, p. 41. W.H.Hodgkins had been pushing for the establishment of a permanent art gallery for Dunedin as well as the formation of a national art collection as early as 1882. In 1885, he managed to have the OAS's collection moved the Otago Museum, where it went on permanent display. The move to the museum was regarded as the beginning of the Dunedin Art Gallery.

¹⁰¹ David Con Hutton (1843-1910), was born in Dundee and attended the local school of art. In 1865 he was appointed art master at the Perth School of Art, before accepting the Dunedin position. He taught at several secondary schools in the region, among them Otago Girls High School and remained the Principal of the Dunedin School of Art until his death.

¹⁰² Entwisle, p. 36.

¹⁰³ New Zealand art societies were established as early as 1869, the year of the founding of the Auckland Society of Artists. The OAS was next, followed by the Canterbury Society of Arts (CSA) in 1880. The New Zealand Academy of Fine Arts (NZAFA), founded in 1882 in Wellington, differed in name only. From the 1880s onwards, a number of art societies were also set up in the smaller centres, like the Nelson Suter Art Society in 1889 and the South Canterbury Art Society in Timaru in 1895.

and influence in the 1890s. Regular art society exhibitions, which were extensively reviewed in local newspapers, helped to make the reputation of many 19th-century New Zealand artists. It was at the OAS's annual exhibitions, held from 1876 onwards, that Mina Arndt first studied a wide variety of original art works at first hand, possibly accompanied by her sister Edith, who exhibited with the OAS in 1900 and 1902¹⁰⁴. Because Mina Arndt, like most other female artists working and exhibiting in New Zealand in the early 20th-century, later showed her own work most consistently with the art societies, it is important to consider in some detail the objectives, cultural agendas and aesthetic biases which characterised these institutions.

As the chronology and geography of their formation suggests, New Zealand's art societies depended on the presence of a certain population base to provide the necessary, sustained patronage needed for their activities. As has been shown, the Otago gold rush brought economic confidence and prosperity to an ailing Dunedin community, a prosperity which allowed a more self-conscious exploration and confirmation of the region's cultural ties with the 'mother country'. Thus, in 1875 correspondence to the *ODT* drew public attention to the fact that Dunedin was lacking a 'Society of Oil and Watercolour Artists'.¹⁰⁵ This was perceived as a particularly glaring omission, since Dunedin already had an art school and had hosted significant art exhibitions. The correspondent emphasised the fact that Otago also had to offer some of the 'most sublime and varied scenery in the world'.¹⁰⁶ Perhaps more so in Dunedin than elsewhere in the colony, audiences looked towards landscape painting as a means to establish themselves as the rightful inhabitants of a new country. Particularly the so-called honorary members of the OAS, apart from wanting to promote the fine arts in general, saw the arts as a means to express their pride in their city and in their own economic achievement. By the 1870s, it was felt that Dunedin had come of age and was deserving of its own artistic tradition, emulating British art practices in particular. Like British Victorian artists, whose work produced and mirrored their society's view of itself, local artists were called upon to portray the achievements and virtues of colonial society. In that sense, many colonial art works, as produced in Dunedin and elsewhere in the colony, can be understood as pendants to the images of immigration so popular in

¹⁰⁴ Otago Art Society Catalogue 1900:

No.110 *Still-life Study*. -no price-

No.143 *At Low Tide*. . . £3.3.

Otago Art Society Catalogue 1902:

No.108: *Sketch-Woodhaugh*. . .£3.3

Edith Arndt was listed as a working member of the OAS from 1900 to 1903.

¹⁰⁵*ODT*, 9 December 1875, p. 3.

¹⁰⁶ *Ibid*.

Britain at the time. The fearful questions concerning the reality of life in the colonies expressed in many of these immigrant pictures were answered by the colonial artists' prolific output of sublime landscapes, harbour vistas and images of rural hamlets. These attested not only to the physical beauty of New Zealand, but also to the cultured nature of colonial society.¹⁰⁷

Apart from supporting the cause of a local painting tradition (and particularly landscape painting), the OAS's leading artists, such as W.M.Hodgkins, carefully sought to broaden a public appreciation for the arts in general by maintaining the conciliatory view that the OAS 'was not to set themselves up judges of fine art, but bring together those who had one common feeling, namely the fostering of artistic taste.'¹⁰⁸ Such views were readily accepted, by both working and honorary members. Not only did Hodgkins attempt to attract as large a membership as possible with statements such as this, but they are also indicative of the fact that he, like the majority of the Dunedin public, in some way perceived the OAS to be an extension of the art school.

Whereas the art school undertook practical art training, the OAS and its various activities, controlled by the social elite, took on the role of refining the tastes and cultural habits of Dunedin's colonial population. The most important event in the artistic calendar was the annual exhibition, often containing three hundred works or more. Not only aimed to bring together artists and patrons, the annual exhibition was also designed to 'extend to as many as possible the means of instruction or rational amusement of a visit to an exhibition.'¹⁰⁹ That women should be represented so prominently in the OAS, making up half the working membership and being well represented on the OAS Council, is not surprising.¹¹⁰ As has been well documented in the published histories of women in colonial New Zealand (and the same is true for Australia), the 'fairer sex' was generally entrusted with the role of the keeper of moral and cultural values. Women, and in particular educated middle-class women, were seen to have a refining influence on colonial society in general, and members of the working class in particular. Membership in the OAS therefore not only expressed an individual's interest in the arts, but was also a class and gender issue. Women's involvement in the arts was further encouraged, because in New Zealand, as in mid-19th-century Britain, the 'woman question'- more

¹⁰⁷ For a detailed analysis of the cultural conventions governing colonial landscape painting, see Pound (1983).

¹⁰⁸ A. Dennison, *Art in Otago, 1875-1880 and 1889-1883-A Study in Provincial Identity*, Research Paper, University of Otago, 1975, p. 29.

¹⁰⁹ *ODT*, 13 May 1876 (no. page ref.), quoted in Dennison, p. 30.

¹¹⁰ In this context, it is also curious to note, that the catalogue cover designs of many art society shows of the first twenty five years depict women as artists or muses.

specifically, what to do with 'surplus', unmarried women - began to attract public attention as the colony's demographics began to change.

By 1901, youth prevailed throughout the colony. In Dunedin, however, a marked 'surplus' of women existed in the 16-to 35 year old age group. The city's population structure had become distinctly 'modern', as about 64% of its inhabitants had been born in New Zealand. Articles discussing the 'woman question' appeared from time to time in local newspapers, comparing the local situation to the perhaps more pressing one in Britain. It was felt that it had become more difficult for women to find suitable marriage partners and it was therefore important that women should find respectable occupations, in case they needed to provide for themselves. The arts and crafts offered many such opportunities of suitable employment, especially for middle-class women, as has been demonstrated for Britain in the latter half of the 19th-century.¹¹¹ (The issue of marriage was even more complicated for young Jewish women like Mina Arndt and her sisters. The Jewish congregation of New Zealand as a whole was small and it was extremely difficult for a Jewish woman who did not want 'to marry out of faith', to find a partner of suitable age and circumstance. Unlike their mother, all three Arndt sisters therefore married comparatively late, Mina and Jenny in their thirties and Edith when she was fifty years old.) Another reason why women contributed to the OAS in the numbers they did lay within the 'demographic structure' of the local art scene itself.

In the absence of a male professional class of artists, supported by influential male critics, writers and dealers, local women did not encounter the solid wall of prejudice which barred so many of their British contemporaries from equal representation in the major exhibitions. It is likely that colonial women artists, in line with their role as culture bearers, were regarded as acceptable, if temporary 'stand-ins', until such time that enough male professionals could make up the numbers necessary to run the local art scene. Perhaps most women exhibiting at the time did not aim to make a living from their art, although the catalogues indicate that most works were for sale. These questions cannot be answered with certainty, but it can be argued, that colonial, female artists took encouragement from the fact that local audiences were most interested in landscapes. In this particular genre, and the same is true for still life, women were not disadvantaged by being barred from the study from the life nude model, or by their own inhibitions to acquire such training on grounds of impropriety, as women painters were in 19th-century England. Colonial conditions then fortuitously created vacancies in the art world, which women, encouraged by positive critical reception, were not slow to fill. During Mina

¹¹¹ See Nunn (1987) or A. Callen, *Angel in the Studio*, London, 1979.

Arndt's lifetime, women contributors to the OAS annual exhibitions reached their highest number in the years from 1895 to 1900. This number remained constant at about 70 female artists in total, representing between 54% and 62.5% of the total exhibitors in those five years.

However, in startling contrast to the extent of female representation in the annual exhibitions, few works by women were purchased for the emerging permanent collections established by the art societies. For example, during the first two decades of art collecting by the CSA, only a very few works by female artists were bought for the permanent collection, despite the fact that about half of the works displayed at the annual exhibitions during that same period had been produced by women.¹¹² The reason for this lies most likely in the fact that the honorary membership of the CSA at the time consisted in the main of males, and men were also over-represented in the administration. As patrons and council members, they decided which works should be bought for the permanent collection, which was intended to educate the general public in matters of art. With this purpose in mind, the CSA administrators followed the British example, privileging the work of male artists.

A similar situation developed in Otago, where both the administration of the OAS and its honorary membership was dominated by men. In the later category, the female membership never amounted to more than about 10% of the total. Members of the wealthiest of the Dunedin Jewish families, such as the de Beers and the Hallensteins, including Willi and Alfred Fels, were honorary members for many years. With their peers, such as male professionals, doctors, lawyers, university professors and educators, they looked after the running of the OAS and its financial fortunes. Towards the turn of the century, when funds allowed, most of the money was invested in British contemporary art, and affordable works of respected British Academicians found pride of place in the local collection. Growing up in Dunedin then meant that the art Mina Arndt studied at first hand was on the whole of a conservative British character, and dominated by the landscape genre, with some notable figure paintings also being purchased from Britain. Accordingly, most of the female artists she could look towards as role models at the time also worked in the British landscape and still life tradition, while a few attempted to branch out into a wider variety of genres, including portraiture and figure painting. They belonged to the pioneering generation of professional New Zealand women artists, who suggested to younger artists like Mina Arndt a variety of ways how women could negotiate the demands of their career with their social and family obligations.

¹¹² See Julie King, Art Collecting by the CSA: The First Fifty Years, in *Bulletin of New Zealand Art History*, vol. 11, 1990, pp. 41-50.

A well known Dunedin trio of resident female artists in the British Victorian watercolour tradition were the three Wimperis sisters, Frances Mary (Fanny) (1840-1925), Susanna White (1842-1915) and Ann Jane (Jenny) Wimperis (1844-1929).¹¹³ Following Susanna's marriage to George Joachim, an accountant and one time president of the Westport Coal Company, the sisters left England and settled in Dunedin in 1880. Here Fanny and Jenny, themselves unmarried, lived with the Joachims for many years. Previous to their arrival in the colony, the Wimperis sisters had acquired a skillful watercolour technique and repeatedly exhibited works at the Suffolk Street Gallery in London. In addition, Fanny Wimperis had received some training in anatomy and perspective at the Slade School of Art in 1872 and 1873, while her younger sister Jenny reportedly studied in Antwerp and Munich. In contrast to Susanna, arguably the most talented of the three, Fanny and Jenny refused to compromise their career as artists by entering into marriage and motherhood.

Instead Fanny embarked on a teaching career, taking over the art department at Otago Girls High from David Con Hutton in 1890. At the time Hutton's methodical and somewhat inflexible syllabus stipulated the following regime for the students:

First Form:	Free Hand Drawing from the Blackboard
Second Form:	Free Hand Drawing from Copies - 1st Grade
Third Form:	Free Hand Drawing from copies - 2nd Grade
	Practical Geometry and Perspective
Fourth Form:	Drawing from Solid Models
Fifth Form:	Drawing and Shading from the Cast ¹¹⁴

Fanny Wimperis expanded the curriculum by introducing studies in chalks, monochrome, water colours and oils, skills which were later acquired by Mina Arndt herself. However, Mina's earliest known portrait, *Drawing of a Girl's Head* (Cat. 101), demonstrates more clearly than anything else the emphasis on careful drawing and shading so characteristic of the elementary art training available in Dunedin at the time. It was not until much later that similarities between the works of both artists would emerge. The subject and treatment of Fanny Wimperis' *Portrait of a Boy*, (1913-14) closely resembles that of Mina Arndt's untitled portrait of a young child (Cat. 102). Fewer comparisons can be drawn between the work of Mina Arndt and Jenny Wimperis, who like her older sister was a regular exhibitor at OAS, and a one time OAS council member. Her determined, independent professional focus, however, anticipates the resolve Mina Arndt herself demonstrated once she returned from years of training in

¹¹³ In addition, one could also mention the Valpy sisters, Ellen Penelope Valpy (1827-1904) and Catherine Henrietta Elliot Valpy (1829-1919). Like their mother, Catherine Valpy (1804-c1860), they were painters of watercolours. The Valpys, a large and cultivated family, interested in the fine arts and music, arrived in Dunedin in 1849.

¹¹⁴ M. E. Montgomery, Ann Jane Wimperis, M.A. Thesis, University of Auckland, 1996, p. 35.

Europe.

Rather than relying on regular employment at a school, Jenny set up as a free lance artist from 1887 and joined the Easel Club in 1895. A committed plein-air painter, she became best known for her landscapes of Otago scenery. Compared to her watercolours produced in England, depicting country cottages and such like, her New Zealand works demonstrate a well observed awareness of the different light conditions in the colony. In 1885 she turned her attention to marine subjects, namely hulks in the Dunedin Harbour and a well known, picturesque motif of the time, the Old Deck House. In 1905, at the age of sixty-one, she took the bold step of setting off on her own to further her career in Europe, anticipating Mina Arndt's departure for England by two years.¹¹⁵ Mina Arndt certainly knew the work of all the Wimperis sisters, and would have taken note of the fact that both Fanny and Jenny, by various means succeeded in supporting themselves with their art. She would have also been aware of how important family support was both to Jenny and Fanny as they pursued their careers, reinforcing her own belief in the value of the family network.

Like most of the known female artists to emerge from the history of Western art, the Wimperis sisters came from an artist family, where usually the father or brother worked as a fine artist and oversaw the training of the artistically-inclined female members of the family. Thus all four daughters of David Con Hutton, Nellie, Pearl, Aletta and Caroline attended the Dunedin School of Art and the oldest, Nellie Hutton, later became a Teaching Assistant at the school. But perhaps the best known example of an artist family in the entire history of New Zealand art were William Matthew Hodgkins and his daughters Isabel (1867-1950) and Frances (1869-1947).¹¹⁶ Particularly Frances Hodgkins' success with local audiences following her first trip to Europe (1901-1903) suggested to aspiring artists like Mina Arndt, that professional training overseas was not only essential, but also within the reach of those less privileged than, for example, Grace Joel was.

Joel's career has often been compared to that her contemporary and fellow expatriate Frances Hodgkins, but thus far little consideration has been given to the significance of

¹¹⁵ Although Jenny Wimperis reportedly settled in Florence until 1914, she continued to exhibit in New Zealand in the intervening years. On the outbreak of war, she travelled back to New Zealand, but returned to England in 1916, where she remained until her death in 1929. Mina Arndt and Jenny Wimperis might have met in London, where according to her sketch book, Mina Arndt lived at 20 (?) Rossetti Gardens in Chelsea. Residing at No. 2 Rossetti Gardens in 1907 was (according to the Post Office London Dictionary of that year) a Miss Wimperis.

¹¹⁶ See Kirker (1993) for a discussion of the achievement of both Isabel and Frances Hodgkins.

her colonial Jewish background, which represents a more obvious connection to Mina Arndt. A member of the Dunedin Jewish community, Grace Joel (1865-1924) was born into a merchant family with few connections to the Fine Arts, but nevertheless, her relatives were to become her most consistent supporters.

Both her parents came from England, but had married in Collingwood, near Melbourne. Like Hermann Arndt and the Hallensteins, the Joels arrived in Dunedin in the early 1860s, in the wake of the Otago gold rush. Maurice Joel soon established himself as a successful businessman and leading figure of the local Jewish community. Grace, one of seven surviving children, was educated at Otago Girls High School from 1878 to 1881.¹¹⁷ As part of the standard curriculum she may have received some basic art instruction from David Con Hutton.¹¹⁸ By 1886, Grace Joel was a working member of the OAS. Her first two contributions to the OAS annual exhibitions included portraits, still lifes and genre pieces - which found no more than a passing, but favourable mention in the local newspaper reviews. It must be remembered that at the time, the available art training in New Zealand, as indeed in Britain and elsewhere in the British colonies aimed to extend to its female students a broad base in the fine and applied arts. Training of this sort was to enable its female students to reach either a certain level of middle-class 'accomplishment', or to generate a modest income as art teachers or craft workers.¹¹⁹ In any case, local art schools had little to offer aspiring professional fine artists. Another factor which might have persuaded Joel and others like her to leave Dunedin was the OAS' stifling preoccupation with landscape painting, which had little to offer in terms of support for an aspiring figure painter. Whatever her reasons, Grace Joel left for Melbourne in 1888, where she enrolled at the National Gallery School. She was not alone in undertaking such a move. In his annual reports of the late 1880s Hutton stated that many of his older and best students had left Dunedin for Melbourne 'owing to dull times.'¹²⁰

Australia, and Melbourne more specifically, was an obvious destination for a young artist

¹¹⁷ R. D. J. Collins, Grace J. Joel and Australia, in *Bulletin of New Zealand Art History*, vol. 14, 1993, p. 30.

¹¹⁸ R. D. J. Collins suggests, that Hutton's most important contribution to the history of New Zealand art was the fact that he introduced a modified Pre-Raphaelitism to a colonial art practice dominated by landscape painting. Hutton might therefore be responsible for Joel's enduring interest in the human figure, portraiture and her tendency to include a narrative or allegorical aspect to her painting. No rolls of the Dunedin art school survive, it is therefore not possible to ascertain whether Grace Joel or any of the Arndt sisters ever attended art classes there.

¹¹⁹ See Ann Calhoun, 'A Trade for their Daughters': Women in the Fine and Applied Arts in New Zealand from 1870 to 1900, in *Bulletin of New Zealand Art History*, vol. 14, 1993, pp. 15-28. The nature of locally available art training will be discussed in more detail in Chapter 2.

¹²⁰ Collins (1993), p. 30.

like Joel. A lively trade existed between New Zealand's southern provinces and Melbourne, based on large shipments of gold from Otago and the West Coast to Victoria. Apart from economic ties between the two countries, exhibitions on both sides of the Tasman meant that work from Melbourne and Sydney was regularly seen in New Zealand and vice versa. Being the older and larger colony, this exchange favoured Australia, and Dunedin audiences would have been aware of the generally high technical standard of Australian colonial art. Under the leadership of George F. Follingsby (who was appointed director in 1882) the Melbourne National Gallery School of Art in particular gained a reputation for being a fine art school, which fostered sound academic practices and ample opportunity for advanced figure studies.

Once in Melbourne, Grace Joel proved herself to be a committed and purposeful art student, who soon attracted attention with her life studies. In 1890, while briefly back in Dunedin, she showed her prize winning charcoal *Study of an Old Man's Head*. Perhaps not surprisingly, given the local audience's predilection for watercolour landscapes, she failed to attract any critical attention. Joel nevertheless remained committed to the figure genre, for which she found ample encouragement in Melbourne. In 1893 she received the Ramsay Prize for Painting from the Nude. She was the first female student to obtain this award, the first woman in fact to receive *any* significant painting prize.¹²¹ Armed with such credentials, she returned to Dunedin in 1894. Following on from her first solo exhibition in the Occidental Chambers soon after her return, she set up as a professional artist and art instructor, teaching painting and drawing. Initially, Grace Joel herself must have felt encouraged by the invigorating presence of Nerli in Dunedin. In 1895, alongside Nerli, A. H. O'Keeffe, L.W. Wilson and Jane Wimperis, she became a founding member of the Easel Club, an informal group of artists which had its equivalents in all major New Zealand cities. They set up a life class in O'Keeffe's studio, while Joel used her own studio in High Street to exhibit her own, mainly figurative works. Here, the adolescent Mina Arndt had ample opportunity to study repeatedly the work of an accomplished, if somewhat conservative figure painter. Grace Joel's favourite subjects, portrait studies of (distinguished) men, women and children, also formed the mainstay of Mina Arndt's later oeuvre. By then, works of this nature received more generous patronage and commissioned portraits in particular contributed significantly to the livelihood of New Zealand artists well into the 20th-century. Another similarity lies in the approach both artists adopted towards the New Zealand art scene, once they had received extensive training overseas.

¹²¹ Kirsten Fergusson, *Grace Joel-Portraits and Figure Studies*, M.A.Thesis, University of Canterbury, 1993, p. 19. The issue of life classes for women students will be discussed in Chapter 2.

Grace Joel never needed to earn a living from her art, her family was wealthy enough to support her for the rest of her life. Setting up as a professional artist, exhibiting, teaching and becoming involved in the administration of the OAS, was possibly connected with the Jewish spirit of personal independence and motivated by the desire to lead a 'useful' life, as described by Ethel Benjamin in her graduation speech. Arndt maintained a similar attitude once she herself enjoyed financial security in marriage, and her later career strongly mirrored the committed approach taken by Grace Joel two decades before her. The following comments, made about Grace Joel's work in New Zealand are just as valid in reference to Mina Arndt's years in Motueka/Nelson:

Perhaps she felt her talent and experience would be recognised and appreciated in Dunedin and that her professionalism was needed in the city. Possibly she saw Dunedin as a place (close to her family) where she could successfully establish herself. It could be that she was happy to continue her career within the gradually forming framework of the New Zealand art world. Certainly the number of works she exhibited at various art societies throughout the country over the next four years would support such theories.¹²²

Like Joel, Arndt might have expected to sell her works to the wealthy collectors she remembered from her years in Dunedin, among them many members of the local Jewish élite such as Theomin family.¹²³

David Edward Theomin (1852-1933) a native of Olveston, near Bristol in South-West England, came to Dunedin in 1879, and soon became part of the local group of prosperous Jewish businessmen. As a lifelong supporter of the arts, and like his son Edward a longstanding honorary member of the OAS, he owned a substantial collection of fine antiques, which he finally housed in his elegant, Jacobean style homestead 'Olveston', completed in 1906. The house, bequeathed to the city by Theomin's daughter Dorothy (1888-1966), retains most of the family's art and antique collection, most notably fine examples of Japanese and Chinese artifacts and porcelain. Their eclectic collection of locally purchased art works included, besides works by Grace Joel, Jenny Wimperis, Frances Hodgkins and Margaret Stoddart, paintings by Worseley, A. O'Keeffe and C.F. Goldie. They further acquired works by a number of British painters, namely Norman Garstin, Myles Birket Foster and Frank Brangwyn as well as a watercolour by Eleanor Hughes, artists whom Mina Arndt had opportunity to meet herself during her years spent

¹²² Ibid., p. 31ff.

¹²³ Traditions and patterns of art patronage in New Zealand in the late 19th- and early 20th-century await closer art historical investigation, which is outside the scope of this study. However, it has been well documented, that in the later 20th-century, the De Beer family, prominent members of the Jewish congregation of Dunedin, became one of the most important benefactors of that city's art gallery. See Robyn Notman, Esmond de Beer, Patron of the Arts, in *Bulletin of New Zealand Art History*, vol. 15, pp. 33-53.

in Europe. To this largely conservative assortment of art works, the Theomins added a number of etchings and engravings by such Victorian luminaries as L. Alma-Tadema. Mostly however, the Theomin collection attested to the family's extensive foreign travels, their wealth and their personal connections to various parts of the world, particularly Cornwall. Members of the Arndt family, and in particular Jennie, later assembled a small collection of a similar character, including traditional etchings and paintings by Newlyn painters, such as Larmorna Birch.¹²⁴ Jennie's legacy suggests that the Arndts entertained artistic tastes similar to the Theomins.

Similarly, as borne out by their later travels to England and the continent, the lifestyle aspirations and social ambitions of the Arndts also resembled those of many of Dunedin's leading families, the Theomins and Hallensteins among them. Both families had spent considerable periods of time in Europe, where, in the tradition of the 'Grand Tour', they aimed to deepen their appreciation of European culture and to advance the education of their children. For the Arndts, however, this apparently only became possible in 1907, after Marie Arndt came into a substantial inheritance from an unknown benefactor.¹²⁵ By that time, Bertha Beaver had been dead for five years, and the entire Arndt family had uprooted and moved to the North Island.

By 1902, Harry Arndt had gone to Taranaki, where he set up as a land and estate agent. Laura Newman's brother-in-law, Otto Newman, was farming in the Manawatu and as early as 1896, Alexander Beaver had set up a wholesale jewellery business in Wellington. He continued to commute between the capital and Dunedin until 1906, while Marie Arndt and her daughters moved to Wellington by 1904. Her family's shift to Wellington had far-reaching consequences for Mina's early training, for it was in Wellington that she began her studies in earnest, continuing an essentially conservative British education, which she added to her own rich Jewish colonial heritage. Both aspects of her cultural background continued to determine the events in her life, as she set out to carve out a meaningful career for herself.

¹²⁴ According to her will, Jennie Nathan bequeathed much of her art collection to different individuals.

¹²⁵ Interview between May Manoy and Ann Calhoun, 1988 (Oral Archives, National Library, Wellington)



Fig.: 1

Title: *Mina Arndt's Birthplace, Thurlby Domain*

Collection: LDM

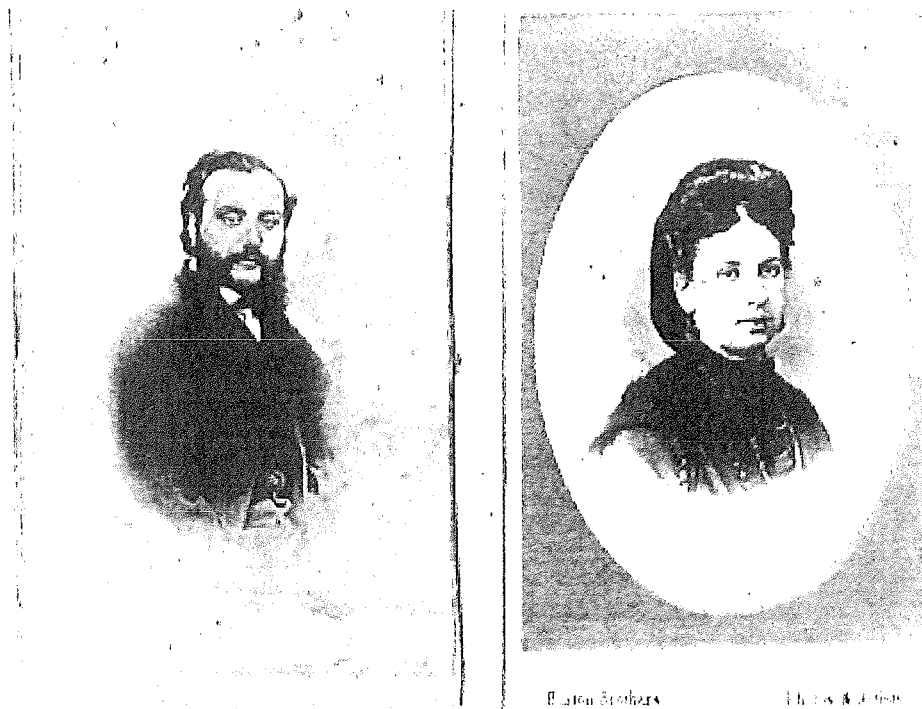


Fig.: 2

Title: *Mina Arndt's Parents – Hermann and Marie Arndt*

Collection: LDM

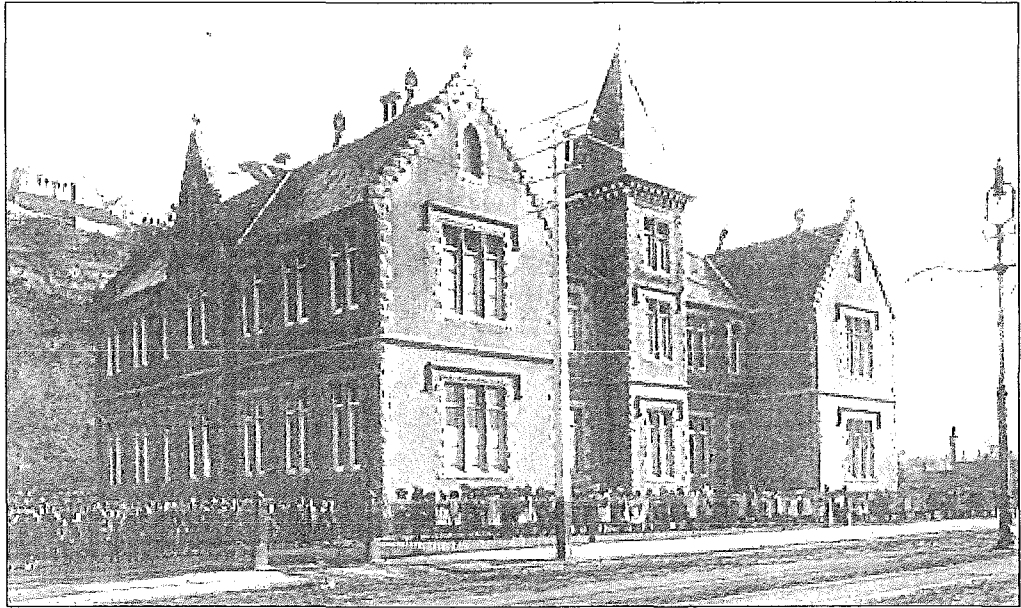


Fig.: 3

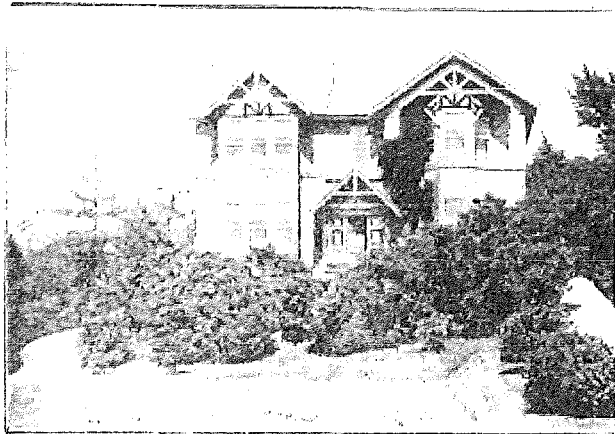
Title: *George Street Public School, Dunedin*

Collection: HL

GIRTON COLLEGE,

For the Education of Young Ladies,

DOWLING STREET, DUNEDIN.



Terms begin **FEBRUARY, MAY,**
and SEPTEMBER.

Morning School for Junior and Senior Pupils. Special Classes arranged for English, Literature, Education, French, Conversation, Drawing, Painting, Calligraphy, Music, Book Work, Sewing and Cooking.

The College Boarding Establishment at **ARCHFIELD, LEES STREET,** is conducted by Mrs. Nesbit, wife of the Rev. Dr. Nesbit. An ideal Home for School Girls.

Special attention is given to the **PREPARATION OF HOME WORK.**

No Pupil is allowed to leave the College in the Residence time comprised.

The Grounds afford ample space for Recreation. Tennis, Croquet, etc.

An Extra Class for Physical Culture is held at the Home.

PROSPECTUS ON APPLICATION AT THE COLLEGE.

FRANCES J. ROSS, M.A. - Principal.

Fig.: 4

Title: *Girton College, Dunedin*

Collection: HL

Chapter 2:

Student Years in Wellington

The move north affected not only Mina Arndt's family life, it also had significant consequences for her early professional training. Wellington, similar to Dunedin, had a small, but lively artistic community centred on the activities of the local art society. Both Petrus van der Velden and James Nairn, two European artists whose work and professional example greatly influenced local art students, settled there.¹²⁶ But by 1905, when Mina Arndt (fig. 5) herself enrolled at the Art Department of the Wellington Technical School (established in 1886), it was beginning to lose the progressive outlook cultivated by its founding director Arthur D. Riley (1854-1929)¹²⁷ and his art master James Nairn (1859-1904),¹²⁸ falling back into line with the conservative, utilitarian approach taken by other such institutions in the country. Mina Arndt's initial training was further compromised by the fact that during the years of her attendance the Technical School's Art Department suffered from a lack of well-qualified teachers and suitable facilities. Nevertheless, her dedication and enthusiasm saw her make the most of her opportunities, acquiring and enjoying along the way the necessary skills and modest student successes that encouraged her to continue her studies abroad.

Mina, her mother and two sisters arrived in Wellington in the late summer of 1904, a move which did not bring with it any improvement in terms of their physical living conditions and, at face value, made no economic sense either. Although Wellington, founded in 1840, was ultimately to become the most successful of the New Zealand Company's settlements, it remained something of an embarrassment to the colony until the early decades of the 20th-century. At the time, Wellington was not the largest, but the fastest growing of all of New Zealand's four main centres. Its location, however, nestled

¹²⁶ Petrus van der Velden resided in Wellington from 1905 to 1913, while James Nairn lived there from 1890 to 1904.

¹²⁷ Riley was born in Accrington, Lancashire, and educated at South Kensington, where he studied for seven years. During that time, he was tutored by E.J. Poynton R.A., A. Legros, C.p. Slocombe and F.W. Moody. Riley obtained a number of the school's highest awards, including silver and gold medals and a national scholarship. In 1881, he travelled to Australia for health reasons. Upon arrival in Sydney, he was appointed art master and art lecturer at the Sydney Technical College, as well as acting as art examiner to the Department of Public Instruction.

¹²⁸ Nairn was born near Glasgow and studied at the Glasgow School of Art. Through his association with William Yorke Macgregor, he became a member of the 'Glasgow School' - a group of young male painters who pursued their own kind of Impressionism. Working directly from nature in a broad painterly style, they pursued an effect which focused on the relation between light and colour values. From 1880 to 1890, Nairn exhibited regularly with the Glasgow Institute of Fine Arts. He arrived in Wellington in 1890, where he continued to work and teach until his death in 1904. (For more detailed information about his Wellington years, see Victoria A. Hearnshaw, James McLauchlan Nairn-The New Zealand Years, M.A. Thesis, University of Canterbury, 1992.)

between the shores of Port Nicholson and steep, bush clad hills, made that expansion difficult and led to the building of squalid and substandard housing in the swampy Aro Valley near the town centre.¹²⁹ Mina and her family settled not far from there in 18 McDonald Crescent, in a modest, respectable area of town similar in character to their Dunedin neighbourhood, but more expensive to rent there.

Statistics comparing the relevant data for the four major cities of New Zealand from 1891 to 1914 show that the cost of living was the highest by far in Wellington and lowest in Dunedin.¹³⁰ This was offset to some degree by the slightly higher wages the average worker could expect to earn in the capital, but none of the Arndt women was ever recorded as working consistently outside the home at that time. In the absence of any other compelling reasons, it can be assumed that their main motivation for leaving Dunedin was the desire to settle near Harry Arndt and Alexander Beaver, who had earlier transferred their business interests to the North Island. The two men were no doubt aware that population figures and business opportunities in the North were expanding more rapidly than in the South. Writing in 1897, the commentator for the *Cyclopaedia of New Zealand* was eager to point out that

the outlook for Wellington is bright. The country is being opened up every day and the trade of the port must go on increasing. Already nearly six hundred miles of railways find their natural outlet in Wellington, and the completion of the central line to Auckland will be of immense advantage to both the terminal cities. The people in the main are honest, hardworking and fairly enterprising, not given to 'booming', but well calculated to maintain an even course towards prosperity...¹³¹

Marie Arndt remained close to her brother throughout her life and cared for him during his final years, when he suffered from serious ill health.¹³² Otto Newman, Marie Arndt's nephew, also joined the closer family circle at that time. He remained single and later lived with Marie Arndt and Edith until 1926, when Marie Arndt died and Edith married Reginald Davis.¹³³

¹²⁹ See *Cyclopaedia of New Zealand*, vol. 1, Wellington, 1897, p. 221. Here the writer points out, that Wellington, which had become New Zealand's capital in 1865, was regarded by many as the one, truly ugly settlement in the country.

¹³⁰ See *New Zealand Official Yearbook*, 1915, p. 782.

¹³¹ *The Cyclopaedia of New Zealand*, Wellington, 1897, p. 234. The commentator continues, in reference to women's roles as culture bearers in colonial New Zealand: 'Education- moral and intellectual- is daily lessening the vices of the people. The women of Wellington will take care that the Empire City shall be represented in Parliament by men of the best stamp.'

¹³² Undated interview between Rae Arndt and Patricia White.

¹³³ *Ibid.* (Further evidence of the presence of Otto Newman's life in the Arndt household is provided by the fact that Mina addressed a postcard to him from Berlin, dated 9 October 1909.)

Apart from reinstating a closer family network, the move to the capital also introduced the Arndt women to a new and stimulating social circle. In 1905 it was noted that Mrs. Arndt and her daughters

who shifted their home from Dunedin to Wellington some eighteen months ago, reside at MacDonald Crescent and are pretty well known in Wellington. ... One of Mr. Arndt's sisters is Miss Jennie Arndt, who is making her way towards popularity as an elocutionist.¹³⁴

It was Jennie who, over the next two years remained the most prominent of the three sisters. At that time, she also met her future husband, the wealthy local merchant Philip Nathan.¹³⁵ Thus within a comparatively short time, just as they had done in Dunedin, the Arndt family had not only become well-known in Wellington in general, but had also connected with some of the most influential members of the local Jewish community there. Philip Nathan's father, Joseph, was the director of Joseph Nathan and Co,¹³⁶ one of the most successful family businesses in early 20th-century New Zealand. Through her marriage to Philip Nathan, who worked for the firm until his accidental death in 1937, Jennie was to become a very wealthy woman indeed and able to provide financial support for her family in later years. Moreover, during her stay in England, Mina Arndt regularly visited members of the London branch of the Nathan family.

Becoming members of the Wellington Jewish congregation provided the Arndts not only with many useful social contacts, but also renewed their ties with their Jewish faith and culture, a fact which was to provide an ideological link between Mina Arndt and her later teacher, the Zionist artist Hermann Struck. As was the case in Dunedin, altruism,

¹³⁴ *New Zealand Freelance*, 30 September 1905, front page.

¹³⁵ Philip Nathan and Jennie had been corresponding ever since the Arndts left for Europe in 1907. They met up again London a few years later, and shortly thereafter Philip Nathan informed his father of his engagement to Jennie in a letter dated 4 May 1911: 'I am sure you will like her because she is a genuine true woman like Mother. She is talented much above the average she has proved by the position she has gained for herself in a strange land notwithstanding the disadvantage of the language being foreign to her. Wait until you hear her recite, see her carriage & bearing, study her character then I have no doubt that although you may not care to say you will say that of all your sons that I have chosen the most wisely.' At the time, Jennie had been working in Berlin, giving elocution lessons and recitals in English at a girls' high school.

¹³⁶ The founder of the firm had been Jewish pioneer, Jacob Joseph, who, along with his brother Moses, arrived in Wellington in 1840. He established a hardware store on Lambton Quay and began extensive trading with local Maori, expanding his personal fortune with a number of profitable land deals. Jakob Joseph not only built the first brick building in Wellington, he also almost single-handedly financed and organised the building of Wellington's first synagogue in 1870. This was a compact, richly ornamented wooden building on The Terrace, which seated 150 people, and was to be the place of worship for the Jewish congregation until the 1930s. His successor Joseph Nathan was a one time President of the Wellington Chamber of Commerce as well as the chief promoter of the Wellington and Manawatu Railway, which was at first privately owned and later bought by the New Zealand government. Joseph Nathan returned to London in 1886, never to settle in New Zealand again on a permanent basis. While he expanded his commercial interests in England, the running of the family business in New Zealand was left to his son David, one of his fourteen children.

philanthropy and a spirit of solidarity with the socially disadvantaged marked the public profile of the Wellington Jewish community. It was in Wellington, too, that the Zionist movement first surfaced in New Zealand. Not long after the Jewish National Fund was established in 1902, on the occasion of the Fifth Zionist Congress held in Basle that year, members of the Wellington congregation began to make efforts to support the fund, which was set up to purchase land for Jewish settlement in Palestine. The Arndt family appears to have been sympathetic to the Zionist cause. Jennie, in her will of 1955, set aside considerable amounts of money to support the cause of Jewish settlers in Israel. From a social point of view, considering their rapid integration into a coherent and stable Jewish community, moving to Wellington then had soon paid off for the Arndt sisters. Outside the Jewish community, the capital's rapidly expanding professional work force, its public servants and government officials, also provided them with a larger number of 'socially suitable' contacts than was available to them in Dunedin. Within their new circle of friends and acquaintances, the Arndt sisters' reputation of being well-brought up young ladies was further enhanced by their interest in the arts in general, and the fine arts in particular.

At the time, the Wellington art scene (as had been the case in Dunedin) focused on the activities of the local art society, known rather misleadingly as the New Zealand Academy of Fine Arts (NZAFA). Founded in 1882 as the Fine Arts Association of New Zealand, on the initiative of chemist and amateur painter Charles Decimus Barraud (1822-1897), the NZAFA (as the organisation was known from 1889) was as conservative and as focused on the British parent-culture as any of the other art societies. Similarly, its aims were to promote and raise public awareness of the arts in Wellington chiefly by organising annual exhibitions of locally produced artworks as well as works from overseas, in particular Australia.¹³⁷ As a visitor to these exhibitions, Arndt, like other local art students, saw much of the (largely amateur) landscape and genre painting of the kind which was widely represented at the OAS's annual shows. However, through the sustained presence of James Nairn, Wellington's aspiring artists had been able to profit from an ongoing contact with a more progressive, Scottish impressionist style of painting.

Nairn arguably set a new benchmark in the colony with his professional commitment to art and his teaching and his influence on local painters lingered well beyond his premature death. Before he emigrated to New Zealand for health reasons, he had already enjoyed a considerable professional reputation in his native Scotland as a

¹³⁷ For a detailed history of the NZAFA, see Robin Kay & Tony Eden, *Portrait of a Century, The History of the New Zealand Academy of Fine Arts 1882-1982*, Wellington, 1983.

member of the so-called Glasgow School. In the Wellington art scene, starved as it was of fresh input, he could not help but make a big impression. Together with Riley, and a number of other supporters, Nairn formed the Wellington Art Club in 1892, giving artists and aspiring artists the opportunity to meet each other in a less conservative framework than that provided by the NZAFA. Many critics and patrons derided the paintings by Nairn and his followers as 'chromatic lunacy',¹³⁸ and 'bilious in colour, inchoate as to form, the creations of a disordered imagination and a palette foul with the accumulations of many tubes and many years'¹³⁹, so radical did they appear among the exhibits of conservative colonial art usually on show in Wellington. Nairn continued undeterred and encouraged his students to do likewise and to break free from the old, conservative modes of art production. Within a few years, Nairn established himself as a sought after landscape artist and portraitist within the wider community, attracting commissions to paint important local dignitaries such as Hon. Dr. Morgan S. Grace (1893) or Justice Richmond (1895, fig. 6).¹⁴⁰

Undoubtedly, Nairn's example provided Wellington art students with a better understanding of modern, European art practice. However, apparently more significant for the future direction Mina Arndt's own art practice was to take in the years to come, was the return to New Zealand of Dutch painter Petrus van der Velden (1837-1913)¹⁴¹. Van der Velden was the only other significant European artist living and working in the colony at that time who equalled Nairn's professional standing. Van der Velden had arrived in Christchurch in 1890 with an already established reputation, a mature and dedicated professional well versed in current European art practice. His work had been exhibited widely in New Zealand throughout the 1890s, and during the closing years of

¹³⁸ G. Brown & H. Keith, p. 85.

¹³⁹ N. Harrison, *The House that Riley Built*, Wellington, 1961, p. 36, quoting an undated review from the *Evening Post*.

¹⁴⁰ See Hearnshaw (1992), pp. 40-50, for an assessment of Nairn's portraiture. Also V. Hearnshaw, *James McLauchlan Nairn: A Catalogue of Works*, Dunedin, 1997.

¹⁴¹ Petrus van der Velden was born in Rotterdam, where he first received drawing lessons from a private art master. He subsequently was apprenticed to a lithographer and for a while ran his own lithographic printing business. Aged thirty, he wound up the workshop and began to concentrate on marine painting. He later studied at the Rotterdam School of Art and the [Royal] Academy in Berlin. In 1871-73 he painted his well known series of works recording the life of the fisher folk of the island of Marken. In 1875 he came to the attention of Jozef Israels, who invited him to join the so-called Hague School of painters. Other prominent members were Anton Mauve, Hendrik Mesdag and William and Jacob Maris. According to Brown and Keith, p. 87 ff. 'the style and programme of the romantic realists derived from Francois Millet. The group shared Millet's religious sentiment and nostalgia for the simple, devout life of the peasant.' Among Van der Velden's most famous acquaintances was Vincent van Gogh, who admired the seriousness of purpose of the older painter. Van der Velden, having fallen out with the influential Hendrik Mesdag, decided to leave Holland in 1890 to make a fresh start in the colonies. He first moved his family to Christchurch, but left for Sydney in 1898. Ill health forced his return to New Zealand in 1905, where he settled with his second wife in Wellington. He died while on holiday in Auckland. For a detailed account of his work and a catalogue of select works see: Rodney Wilson, *Van der Velden (1837-1913)*, Wellington, 1976.

Van der Velden's career, a substantial number of his works, including portraits, genre pieces and landscapes, were not only exhibited, but also acquired by the NZAFA for the city's permanent collection.¹⁴² Van der Velden's paintings introduced local audiences to the romantic realism and peasant subjects of the Hague School. (See for example fig. 7 and fig. 8). Moreover, while studying in Wellington, Mina Arndt had opportunity to see *The Crucifix* (1902-04, fig. 9) by New Zealand artist Sydney Lough Thompson, a former pupil of Van der Velden's and admirer of Dutch realism.¹⁴³ Significantly, Mina Arndt's subsequent teacher Hermann Struck was well acquainted with the Hague School leader and Van der Velden's mentor, Jozef Israels (1824-1911), and many of Arndt's paintings from 1907 onwards resemble in style and subject matter the imagery of peasant life favoured by Van der Velden and Israels. Wellington, then, had the unusual distinction of being the home of two of the most significant European painters working in New Zealand at the turn of the century, introducing an element of professional excellence to local exhibitions for more than two decades.

In addition, Mina Arndt may have drawn further inspiration from the fact that Frances Hodgkins and Dorothy K. Richmond (1861-1935)¹⁴⁴ had begun to exhibit their recent work successfully in various centres around the country. The first examples of Hodgkins' European works, the result of a summer she spent sketching in the company of Richmond in Caudebec, Normandy, as a pupil of Stanhope Forbes' friend Norman Garstin, were exhibited with the Otago Art Society in November 1901. At the time, Hodgkins herself was still in Europe, but it was not uncommon for New Zealand artists

¹⁴² See Kay and Eden, pp. 186-187. Kay and Eden's list of Van der Velden's works acquired by the NZAFA does not indicate if these works were donated to the Academy by an individual or purchased from Academy funds.

¹⁴³ Thompson (1877-1973), a Cantabrian by birth, had travelled to Europe in 1900. After studying in London and Paris, he spent several years at Concarneau, producing the kind of peasant imagery, which was then popular with Parisian salon audiences. He exhibited *The Crucifix* at the NZAFA Annual Exhibition in 1906, where it was purchased for the NZAFA's permanent collection. Thompson later moved into a brighter, impressionist style. Throughout his long life, Thompson continued to divide his time between France and New Zealand, becoming one of this country's most successful landscape and figure painters. See J. King, *Sydney Lough Thompson-At Home and Abroad*, Christchurch, 1990.

¹⁴⁴ Dorothy K. Richmond was the daughter of James C. Richmond, a prominent colonial politician and accomplished painter of water colours. In the late 1870s, she studied at the Slade School of Art under Alphonse Legros. Following her return to New Zealand she worked for some time as an art teacher in Nelson, but returned to Europe several times during the 1880s to further her studies. Following the death of her father in 1898, she went to Europe, where she studied painting with Norman Garstin and Stanhope and Elizabeth Forbes. She then travelled extensively throughout Europe in the company of Frances Hodgkins, who became her close friend. They both returned to New Zealand in 1903, where Richmond remained for the rest of her life and over the next thirty years, she became a prominent member of the Wellington art scene. A prolific painter, she gradually abandoned her figurative work and eventually specialised on still lifes and landscape in watercolours. Richmond was also a popular and committed teacher and a dedicated arts administrator with the NZAFA. For an evaluation of Richmond's career, see Kirker (1993); Mei Hurrell, *Dorothy K. Richmond (1861-1935)*, M. A. Thesis, University of Canterbury, 1994; Louis Le Vaillant Johnston, *Dorothy K. Richmond (1861-1935)*, M.A. Thesis, University of Auckland, 1991.

working abroad to ship some of their work home to be sold there. The *ODT* had much praise for the work of Hodgkins:

An additional attraction ...is now to be seen in 12 pictures forwarded by by Miss F.M. Hodgkins, at present studying in France, and these pictures alone are worth a visit. ... It is evident that Miss Hodgkins has already made considerable advance in her work, of which the colouring, as in her past work, is the most striking feature. ... That there will be a run on these little water colours is evident from the fact that yesterday, the first day their being on view, no less than four were sold.¹⁴⁵

This first show of Hodgkins' overseas works was followed by equally successful exhibitions in Wellington over the next two years.¹⁴⁶ Her 1902 show with the OAS received the most flattering notices of all. Especially highly regarded were the figurative aspects of her work, attracting descriptions like 'masterly' and 'exquisitely managed'. Throughout, it was said, her work showed a power of suggestion "which may be called 'impressionism' in its best and truest sense."¹⁴⁷ In a further comment the reviewer wrote: 'This clever lady owes little or nothing to her early colonial training, and the broad style she works in shows that she possesses strong individuality.' One can surmise that from comments such as this the young Mina Arndt came to her own conclusions about the necessity to follow up the art training available in New Zealand with the right kind of additional study abroad. It is also safe to assume that news of Hodgkins' success in London, where she exhibited with John Baillie and at the Doré Gallery, and, where in 1903, she became the first New Zealander to have her work hung 'on line' at the Royal Academy¹⁴⁸, had preceded her return home. In 1904, coinciding with the Arndts' move north, Hodgkins had settled in Wellington in the hope of securing a teaching post at the Technical School,¹⁴⁹ and her work was again exhibited in the capital to much critical acclaim.¹⁵⁰ Professionals like Nairn, Van der Velden, and in particular, Hodgkins and Richmond, provided Mina Arndt with the examples on which to model her own career on.

¹⁴⁵ *ODT*, 19 November 1901, p. 5.

¹⁴⁶ See *Evening Post*, 27 August 1902, p. 4: 'This talented artist's work shows a distinct and unmistakable advance in technique, and fortunately her individuality has been strengthened rather than weakened by association with the artists of the Old World. Miss Hodgkins's true appreciation of values and delicacy of treatment are apparent in all the examples under notice. The pictures are attracting considerable attention.'

¹⁴⁷ *ODT*, 14 November 1902, p. 3, and 20 November 1902, p. 8.

¹⁴⁸ See Kirker (1993), p. 44.

¹⁴⁹ E.H. McCormick, *Works of Frances Hodgkins in New Zealand*, Auckland, 1954, p. 63 ff.

¹⁵⁰ See *ibid.*, pp. 69 -70. Frances Hodgkins, together with Dorothy Richmond, held an exhibition of her European work at McGregor Wright's Lambton Quay gallery in February/March 1904. (For examples of their works of that period see fig. 10 and fig. 11) Not only did large numbers of prominent people flock to see the show, but reviews were unequivocal in their praise. In keeping with current tastes for the exotic, Hodgkins' work in particular was singled out for the picturesque and quaint motifs of her highly accomplished and vividly coloured watercolours.

Mina enjoyed considerable personal freedom in that her family continued to be supportive of her plans and financially secure enough to fund her training, even when from 1905 Marie Arndt had the additional responsibility of supporting her widowed daughter-in-law. In September of that year, Harry Arndt died suddenly at a Stratford hotel, aged just thirty one. An inquest could not establish whether he had committed suicide by poisoning himself. His death had aroused suspicion not only because it came so unexpectedly, but also because Harry Arndt was virtually bankrupt at the time. As his brief obituary in the *New Zealand Freelance* noted, 'Charley's Aunt', as he was known in his bachelor days, had been quite 'the man about town'. At first he had

bustled for A. Beaver and Co. (Mr Beaver was his uncle), wholesale jewellers, but seeing great opportunities in Taranaki, he started a land and estate agency at Stratford some four years ago...¹⁵¹

Not mentioned in the obituary was Harry's widow, Rae Arndt, who was left penniless with two infants, her young son only a day old when his father died. Rae Arndt moved back to Wellington where she brought up the children on her own, reliving in some respects the experiences of her widowed mother-in-law. Unlike Marie Arndt, however, she had no substantial inheritance to see her through the years to come. She considered herself fortunate that her sister Ruth was able to spare five shillings per week for her, while Marie Arndt supported her with a weekly payment of two guineas.¹⁵² Marie Arndt and her daughters therefore could not have suffered from any serious financial hardship themselves and no official documents record an occupation for any of the women at the time.¹⁵³ Only Jennie, who, as indicated in her brother's obituary was becoming well known as an elocutionist and for her public recitals of poetry, can be assumed to have contributed regularly to the family income. Edith, who was of delicate health and suffered from repeated attacks of neuralgia, would only later in life become the general manager of her uncle's wholesale jewellery and gift ware business.¹⁵⁴ During her early years in Wellington, she devoted much of her time to drawing and painting and she showed some of her art works with the NZAFA in 1906. ¹⁵⁵ Presumably she had little success in selling any of her works, for this was the last time that Edith exhibited any of her works

¹⁵¹ *New Zealand Freelance*, 30 September 1905, front page.

¹⁵² Undated interview between Rae Arndt and Patricia White.

¹⁵³ The 1905/06 Electoral Roll for Wellington lists Marie Arndt as 'Widow', and Jennie and Edith as 'Spinsters'.

¹⁵⁴ Dudley D. Davis, *The Other Side of the Record - A Monograph* (Unpublished Genealogical Research), Part 3, p. 36.

¹⁵⁵ NZAFA Catalogue 1906: No.174 *A Misty Day* - £2.2.0
No.183 *Hulks* - £1.1.0
No.186 *A Bush Track* - £4.4.0
No. 202 *Red Geranium* - £3.3.0

with any of the art societies. The emerging overall impression then of the Arndt's financial situation indicates that the family was not wealthy, but comfortable enough to allow Mina and her sisters to pursue their interest in the arts without the pressure of any of them having to earn an independent living in the foreseeable future. Since it did not evolve from financial necessity, the seriousness of Mina's professional intentions can therefore best be explained by her passionate interest in the arts, as later remembered by her sister-in-law Rae¹⁵⁶, as well as the general emphasis placed on higher education, particularly by her mother's family.

This impression is further supported by the fact that although she initially studied alongside a large number of (primary and secondary school) art teacher trainees, Mina did not pursue any official teaching qualifications herself.¹⁵⁷ When she enrolled as a day and evening student in the Art Department of the Wellington Technical School, she did so to receive sound instruction in the fundamental techniques of drawing, composition and modelling. Expensive and limited private tuition represented the only alternative, and despite the fact that colonial art schools were expected to cover a wide variety of needs in the field of art education, it was felt that they succeeded in providing most of their students with a sound grasp of the necessary basic techniques, according to the British educational standards of the day. Here it is important to outline the underlying educational theories and general nature of her early training, as it determined to large degree why and what kind of further art instruction she later sought in Europe.

As has been alluded to above, from the onset of its operations the main aim of the Wellington Technical School had been the training of primary school teachers in the area of drawing and design.¹⁵⁸ It was Riley who changed the original concept and organised technical classes for young men and women, rather than secondary-school

¹⁵⁶ Undated interview between Rae Arndt and Patricia White.

¹⁵⁷ None of the *AJHR* annual reports ever list Arndt as an applicant for a teaching qualification.

¹⁵⁸ The school's origins were in 1885, when New Zealand's Minister of Education, Robert Stout, pushed for the foundation of a publicly funded school of design to improve the technical education of the country's school-aged children to lift the skill base of the country's manual labour force. But only in Wellington, where Stout had given the Board of Education a site for a future school of design, were some of his ideas implemented. In December 1885, in response to Stout's initiative, the Wellington Board of Education hired Arthur Dewhurst Riley to conduct the first courses.

age children.¹⁵⁹ A modestly progressive teacher, Riley taught the basic principles of art when other teachers encouraged their students to copy merely other people's work. It was Riley, too, who in 1891 had engaged James Nairn as a new art master. Rather optimistically, it was felt that the school, once it had reached its full potential under such energetic leadership, would ensure that 'whatever artistic taste the young people of Wellington may possess will have every opportunity to develop.'¹⁶⁰ However, that artistic taste had to be British and conservative, for, by 1888, Riley had seen to it that the school was affiliated to the South Kensington School of Art.¹⁶¹

The South Kensington system of art education and examination, subsequently dismissed by some historical commentators as 'simple, concise, methodical - and absurd'¹⁶², held a particular appeal to the colonial education administration for a number of reasons. Firstly, it seemed especially suited to support the development of colonial manufacturing trades and industries to British standards. It was well known that, as far as the South Kensington art masters were concerned,

no beguiling dreams of high art distracted them from their daily tasks. They were practical men, working to include art in the national elementary school curriculum and to educate the taste of artisans and consumers alike in the British industry and trade.¹⁶³

¹⁵⁹ N.Harrison, p.17. The school, although staffed by Riley alone, proved to be popular right from the start. Within three months, sixty fee-paying, special class students had enrolled. Riley's programme for primary schools included 'a detailed progression from infant work upward, beginning with straight lines, advancing steadily to curves before circles, then broadening to include plaster modelling. Teacher's classes were held on Saturday mornings and after school some days. Special classes open to the public were held on two mornings and afternoons a week, and in the evenings for those working during the day...the course provided for the public was initially confined to art subjects, ranging from the study of the great masters of modelling, house decoration, paperhanging, casting, wood and stone carving and the conventional painting in oils and watercolours.'

¹⁶⁰ Ibid., p. 18.

¹⁶¹ The so-called 'South Kensington System' of art education was developed following the Great Exhibition of 1851, when a new Government Department of Practical Art, which soon became part of the Department of Science and Art at South Kensington, set up a system of state-funded and controlled art schools. Student work was graded according to preset examination standard, aimed to achieve efficiency and consistency in British art education. The department not only controlled the teaching of art at throughout Britain, but also set examinations for general art teachers and trained art masters. Art education according to the South Kensington System consisted in the main of the teaching of basic drawing skills. Only advanced courses included studies from nature. For a detailed discussion of the aims of the South Kensington System see C. Frayling, *The Royal College of Art-One Hundred & Fifty Years of Art and Design*, London, 1987, and R. Carline, *Draw They Must- A History of the Teaching and Examining of Art*, London, 1968.

¹⁶² F. Graeme Chalmers, *South Kensington in the Farthest Colony*, in D.Soucy and M.A. Stankiewicz (eds.), *Framing the Past, Essays on Art Education*, Reston, Virginia, 1990, p. 71. In his essay Chalmers quotes J. Littlejohns, *Art in Schools*, London, 1928, p. 32.

¹⁶³ Ibid. Although the system was perhaps most closely adhered to in New Zealand, it had also been successfully implemented in Australia, South Africa and other British dominions. In fact, in the wake of the cultural colonisation of Britain's Imperial territories, the Empire's far flung outposts provided major employment opportunities for South Kensington trained art masters. Hutton, Riley and David Blair (1850-1925), the latter arriving in Christchurch in 1881, were but a few of these.

Secondly, a national standard of art education formulated along the principles of the South Kensington system was consistent with colonial society's cultural focus on Britain. In that, as has been pointed out in the discussion of the activities and aims of the art societies, the colonial public understood local art education to pursue mainly utilitarian goals and to maintain a distinction between the fine arts and the applied arts. Moreover, when New Zealand's art schools were first founded, their curriculum supported the notion that colonial, middle-class women functioned as culture bearers who, in line with Victorian standards of middle-class propriety, pursued their artistic studies as an accomplishment. This would not only round off their personal education but was also believed to refine the artistic tastes of the wider colonial community. The possibility of a professional career in the fine arts was not presented as a viable alternative to a career in the applied arts, not even for male students. Thus in a letter of 1885, a commentator in Christchurch wrote with reference to the Canterbury College of Art and its headmaster David Blair:

The exhibition of the works of students for the past year of the art school offers an opportunity for pointing out the advantages of this institution to several classes of the community for whom it is specially designed. It is gratifying to find that the ladies and others, ... have illustrated in their successful works the sound and efficient guidance of their studies. The cultivation of taste, and the ability to enjoy the beautiful in nature and art, impart an additional charm to life.

But from an utilitarian aspect, the Art School presents almost paramount claims. Who but remembers the Exhibition of 1851, and has carefully noticed the development of English manufactures, has not been impressed with the marvellous influence on the national life, of art and its great foster-mother at South Kensington with the affiliated Schools of Art? China, glass, pottery, watches, dress, furniture, paper hangings, musical instruments find their centres now in England, instead of the continent, as formerly...

In all of these departments of practical art at the Art School in our midst is capable of thoroughly preparing students. The Head Master, fully diploma'd from South Kensington, needs no other credentials. He is necessarily not only an artist, but equally responsible for teaching theory and practice of drawing as applied to architecture, building construction, and engineering. No young man who wishes to make his way in the delightful field of practical achievements... can afford to miss the advantages here provided for him.¹⁶⁴

Initially then, In the case of both male and female art students, the Kensington system, as implemented in New Zealand, discriminated against a professional involvement in the fine arts. As mentioned earlier, the limited training available to aspiring fine artists in New Zealand at the turn of the century, its shortcomings further highlighted by the work of European professionals like Nairn and Van der Velden, encouraged many colonial art students in the 1890s to further their studies in the less restrictive cultural climate of Europe, developing in the process a model of a career path which many younger

¹⁶⁴ *The Lyttelton Times*, 30 December 1885, p. 5, quoted in: D.Soucy & M.A.Stankiewicz, p. 75.

colonials, Mina Arndt among them, could follow. It was understood that the training available in New Zealand could not provide more than a first step towards professionalism.

While still studying in Wellington from 1905 to 1907, Mina applied herself diligently to her course work and set out to succeed within the parameters of the schooling available to her, then presumably encouraged by the nationwide reputation for excellence the school achieved under the progressive leadership of Riley.¹⁶⁵ At the time the Wellington Technical School had a roll of about 500 students, who received instruction in a wide variety of subjects: drawing and painting from life, geometry and perspective, mechanical drawing and machine construction, architectural drawing and building construction, mathematics, plumbing, carpentry, wood carving, modelling, casting, stone carving and wood carving. Women were among the school's most successful graduates. In 1894, for example, Mary Richardson (later Mary E. Tripe) was awarded the country's first art master's [sic] certificate, which entitled the holder to take charge of an art school recognised by South Kensington examiners. Teaching, either within a school or privately, provided a steady income for many female artists, both in Britain and the colonies. Mina Arndt, however, aligned herself to an increasing number of women who considered a professional career as practising artists. At that time, they even outnumbered their male counterparts.¹⁶⁶ Similar trends could be observed in Europe, where the art schools of London and Paris had become more widely accessible to females¹⁶⁷, promising them the kind of rewarding professional involvement with the fine arts, which hitherto had generally been the privilege of men. But at twenty years of age, inexperienced and protected by a supportive family, Mina Arndt had no understanding of the effects of marriage and family on the career of a woman artist, or of the artistic and social prejudices and preoccupations held by the public and critics alike, which affected professional women artists in Europe. Colonial variants of these detrimental public and critical attitudes would later stultify her art practice, but the spectacle of increasing

¹⁶⁵ From the beginning, despite the lack of suitable rooms, funds, equipment and, at times, a lack of teachers, Riley's students were given high marks by their South Kensington examiners. His tireless efforts were further rewarded with the opening of a new, purpose built school in Mercer Street in the 1890s. Located only a few blocks away from the Arndts' residence, it was used until the late 1920s.

¹⁶⁶ 1906 Census, Sec.8, p. 368. The 1906 New Zealand census listed the number of women describing their occupation as artists, painters and art students at 334, with men in this category numbering only 204. The 1921 census report later stated that 1906 was also the year, when the number of individuals listed as 'ministering to the arts' in paid employment in New Zealand was at its highest in the twenty years from 1901 to 1921. The total of 1331 people included in this category in 1906, 755 men and 576 women, must have taken into account arts-related occupations like commercial artists, photographers and engravers.

¹⁶⁷ Women's move into the professional art in the 19th and early 20th-century and the obstacles facing them has been discussed in a number of publications, for example Nunn (1987) and D. Cherry, *Painting Women: Victorian Women Artists*, London & New York, 1993.

numbers of women following a similar path no doubt supported Mina's understanding of the arts as a suitable professional field for women to enter into. At the same time, Mina was well advised to gain a competitive advantage by obtaining the best possible training available to her. Unfortunately, she commenced her own course of study during a particularly unsettled period in the school's history, her course of study falling well short of the standards she knew Riley and Nairn had set.

In 1903, Riley had resigned over a salary dispute and became a successful Wellington businessman. Nairn, as has been mentioned, had died in February 1904, robbing the school of its most important art instructor. No other similarly capable artist was teaching in the colony at the time. As an art master, he therefore could not be easily replaced and, despite initially encouraging developments, it took some time for the new director to reorganise the art department into a coherent unit. Riley's successor was William Sanderson La Trobe, New Zealand born and educated in Cambridge in the Mechanical Sciences. Consistent with his own educational background, he set about addressing the school's lingering organisational and accommodation problems and, by 1905, had managed, against much bureaucratic opposition, to establish the country's first Technical Day School. He also reformed the syllabus of the courses in art, engineering, home craft and commerce along more conservative and again more utilitarian guidelines:

Emphasis in all subjects was to be placed on building a sound knowledge of elementary principles and relating the school's work to the everyday life of the community. There was a specific rejection of formalised teaching divorced from practice.¹⁶⁸

Accommodation, however, was a problem harder to overcome and some courses, such as some of the drawing classes Mina Arndt was enrolled in, were being held in run-down, unheated, rat-infested buildings. Nevertheless, the official line was that 'there was a lively and infectious school spirit'¹⁶⁹, and that the students at first responded positively to La Trobe's efforts to improve further on the standard of the education provided by the school. In the case of the art department, this seems surprising, as the school's administration continued to struggle to find a qualified teacher to head the department. In March 1904, the art students themselves suggested that George Butler¹⁷⁰ should succeed Nairn as art master, but a decision was deferred and left for La Trobe to make

¹⁶⁸ Harrison, p. 65.

¹⁶⁹ Ibid., p. 74.

¹⁷⁰ George Edmund Butler, (1870-1936), was a regular exhibitor of mostly landscape paintings at the NZAFA. During WW1, he also worked as a war artist. See T. Martin, *New Zealand Images of War*, Palmerston North, 1990.

later in the year.¹⁷¹ Subsequently Henri Bastings and R.Herdman Smith were appointed as art masters, their assistants being Maud Kimbell, Kate Lawson and George Nordstrum.¹⁷² Henri Bastings had trained under Nairn, as had Nordstrum and Kimbell. A regular contributor of oil and watercolour landscapes at its annual shows¹⁷³, Bastings joined the council of the NZAFA in 1902. He retained this post until 1907, and then served as the NZAFA's secretary until 1910.¹⁷⁴ In February 1907, he took leave of absence for six months to further his studies in Europe. ¹⁷⁵ From 1913 to 1926, Bastings was registered as a Fellow of the New Zealand Institute of Architects.¹⁷⁶ None of his paintings is known to survive in either private or public collections. The recollections of one of his relatives, however, give some impression of his artistic conservatism:

Henri, spelt a la Francais [sic] mind you....was seen in beret, smock and palette, and had a number of art magazines and books of beautiful pictures, many of which revealed the female form before the ladies got dressed, and never lacking in curves.¹⁷⁷

Bastings' better known colleague, Robert Herdman-Smith, (born 1872), is generally believed to have taken over the running of the Canterbury School of Art in Christchurch in 1905, but was still employed by the Wellington Technical School in December of that year.¹⁷⁸ Herdman-Smith was born in Liverpool and received his art training in Leeds and on the Continent. He qualified as an art teacher at South Kensington in 1899 and settled in Wellington in 1902. Soon after, he joined the staff at the Wellington Technical School, teaching design and modelling.¹⁷⁹ In 1904, he became Examiner in Art for the Education Department. Like most of his colleagues, he was a regular contributor to the NZAFA shows, where he made a name for himself as a painter of English landscapes. While it has been suggested that it was Herdman-Smith who first introduced Mina Arndt to the medium of etching, it might in fact have been George Nordstrom (died 1964) who drew the young student's attention to the possibilities of printmaking. Nordstrum, who exhibited with the NZAFA from 1902 to 1906, first studied in Wellington under Nairn and later in England before retiring to Nelson in 1945. In the collection of one of Mina's

¹⁷¹ Minute Books, Wellington Technical School Education Board, 23 March 1904.

¹⁷² Ibid., 6 December 1904.

¹⁷³ See various reviews of the NZAFA annual shows in Wellington newspapers, c.1900-1910.

¹⁷⁴ Kay and Eden, p. 194.

¹⁷⁵ Minute Books, 5 November 1906. Bastings left for Europe at the same time as Mina Arndt.

¹⁷⁶ Architects file, School of Fine Arts, Canterbury University.

¹⁷⁷ Ted Bastings, unpublished recollections, quoted in letter from June Bastings, 14 June 1997.

¹⁷⁸ Minute Books, 8 December 1905: The list of salaries, fixed at that time for 1906, included:

La Trobe £600 p. a.; R.H.Smith £285 p. a.; H.Bastings £235 p. a.; A.Fraser £175 p. a.;

M.Kimbell £60 p. a.; M.Lawson £180 p. a.; G.Nordstrum £40 p. a.

¹⁷⁹ *AJHR* 1903, E5, p. 18.

relatives is a small etching by Nordstrum which resembles the village scenes Mina later executed in the same medium (See Cat. 284)

One of Arndt's female teachers, and not much older than herself, was Maud Kimbell (1880-1956). She received her art training at the Wellington Technical School under the tuition of earlier graduates Mabel Hill and Mary Elizabeth Tripe, as well as James Nairn. By 1902, she was teaching the design class which was taken over by Herdman-Smith in 1903. As late as 1904, Kimbell herself was still enrolled for courses in Repoussé and General Drawing.¹⁸⁰ Having barely completed her own training, she took over her former art master's still life and sketching classes, a post which she held for nine years.¹⁸¹ Although the art department was thus largely run by relatively inexperienced graduates and students of the school itself, the work produced until the end of the year was said to have been of a generally high technical standard. In his annual director's report to the House of Representatives of 1905, La Trobe mentioned that the introduction in 1904

of a life class (drawing from the head) during the latter half of the year has helped considerably to keep up the interest, and some very good work has been done. ...A new feature was the recognition of a landscape class by the department. The class was a success and one of the students won the landscape prize at the New Zealand Academy exhibition held toward the end of the year. ... In the Students Prize Section of the New Zealand Academy of Fine Arts, open to Australasia, and in the Catalogue Cover Competition, open to professional designers, the prizes for landscape, still life, modelling, repoussé, antique, head from life in colour, wood-carving, and design for catalogue cover were won by students of the Art Department. The life class has been exceptionally good in the evening, and has done excellent work.¹⁸²

In the same report, La Trobe mentioned that in 1905 the classes in Elementary Art and General Drawing would include instruction in shading and model-drawing, anatomy studies, historic ornament, principles of ornament, perspective and geometry.¹⁸³ It was with the aim of improving her drawing skills, that in 1905 Mina Arndt enrolled for courses in General Drawing, Sketching and Monochrome Studies. By then, further difficulties beyond a lack of qualified teaching staff were affecting the school.

During 1905, the syllabus was considerably rearranged, introducing more courses and

¹⁸⁰ Wellington Technical College School Tuition Fees Cash Book, 14 September and 30 November 1904.

¹⁸¹ See Kirker (1993), p. 74 ff. A regular contributor to the NZAFA shows, Kimbell held her first solo show at McGregor Wrights in 1910. In 1911 she left for Europe, where she studied at Colarossi's in Paris and later with Tudor Hart. Having travelled and worked throughout Europe, she finally settled in Australia. She married Sydney businessman A.C. Sherwood in 1917, but left him in 1920. As Maud Sherwood she continued work as a painter in oils and watercolours until her death, receiving considerable public and critical attention for her work during her lifetime.

¹⁸² *AJHR* 1905, E.5, p. 21.

¹⁸³ *Ibid.*

allowing students greater flexibility in the organisation of their studies. Despite of these well-intended changes, the instructors of the art classes in particular found themselves 'seriously handicapped by the nomadic habits of the students, few of whom seriously attempt a complete and satisfactory course in any direction.'¹⁸⁴ In 1906, in an effort to get the art classes back on track, the appointment of a new Art Master was sought, but to no avail. Subsequently, La Trobe was instructed to carry on as best he could with his temporary teaching staff. Fortunately, by the next year the working habits of the art students had improved and the Inspectors of Technical Instruction were able to report that the student work from Wellington exhibited at the Christchurch Exhibition formed part of a 'very interesting and instructive display.'¹⁸⁵

Overall, then, the years Mina Arndt attended Wellington Technical School were not the best on record for the institution and especially not for the art department. She was, however, among the most diligent and successful of the students at the time and in 1906 was the recipient of the only art prizes given that year.¹⁸⁶ Another of the school's more dedicated graduates was Richard Wakelin (1887-1971), who was enrolled in the same courses as Mina Arndt and went on to make a name for himself as a painter in Australia. As a male, he could afford to extend his tuition with privately organised life drawing classes. Wakelin supported himself during his student years by working as a civil servant in the Taxation Department and later recalled:

Things were cheap in those days, I took a room, managed to rent a house for next to nothing with a number of other art students. There we had our life classes on most nights and on Saturday and Sunday. We paid model fees as well, and ate well enough.¹⁸⁷

Wakelin studied the antique under Henri Bastings and later on life classes under Bastings and H. Lindley Richardson. For reasons of propriety, it is unlikely that Mina Arndt, although she studied the antique herself, would have progressed from this preparatory course by attending the private life classes organised by Wakelin. While a

¹⁸⁴ *AJHR*, 1906, E.5, p. 27.

¹⁸⁵ *AJHR* 1907, E.-5, p.15. The *AJHR* does not state clearly if life classes from the nude model were available at the time in Wellington. The 1905 report lists two Wellington candidates entering for the Life Drawing exams of the Board of Education, South Kensington Art and Science Examinations. One of them passed. Christchurch and Dunedin were the only other places to furnish candidates for this exam. The Wellington entries could have been life drawings from the head only, or done by students with access to private life classes from the nude model.

¹⁸⁶ Records of the Wellington Technical School-Scholarships, Prizes etc until 1909- Category: Prize for Progress 1906: Arndt, Mina- Day Art Class, Evening Art (Advanced), Evening Art (Elementary).

¹⁸⁷ Roland Wakelin, interview with Virginia Gerrett, 5 February 1954, quoted in Leslie Walton, *The Art of Roland Wakelin*, Sydney, 1992, p. 13. Walton states that H. Lindley Richardson took up a position at the Wellington Technical School in 1903. However, his name does not appear on the salary list of the school for the years 1903-1907.

number of drawings from the nude female model survive from Wakelin's Wellington days, Arndt's student entries to the annual exhibitions of the NZAFA indicate that she complemented her drawings from the cast with life studies in charcoal and pastel from the head as taught by the school. (For example, her life drawing entry to the 1905 NZAFA student competition consisted of a 'Study of a Head' in charcoal, followed by two further portraits the following year.¹⁸⁸) Her other student competition entries, such as examples of modelling from the cast, repoussé and woodwork, indicate that Arndt, in line with the South Kensington system, was encouraged to experiment in a wide variety of media often more closely related to the applied, rather than the fine arts. Repoussé (or relief modelling in sheet copper) was a fashionable medium at the time and practised by some of Mina Arndt's friends. An example of her modelling work maybe the small figure of kneeling man in the collection of her descendants. It could have been for this figure that in 1906 she was awarded a prize in the Class VI category, for a model in clay or wax from the antique.¹⁸⁹

Perhaps more significant to Mina Arndt herself, because of the prestigious nature of the occasion, was her inclusion as a student contributor to the 1906 International Exhibition in Christchurch. There the work of New Zealand's Technical School Students was exhibited in the 'Home Industries' section, and they were encouraged to enter a number of competitions, even outside those categories especially set aside for them. In keeping with the objectives of the South Kensington system, the organisers of the Home Industries section hoped that 'through the medium of competition, a love for emulation might be fostered, that would result in permanent educational advantage to the community.'¹⁹⁰ Emphasis was given to industrial design and arts-and-crafts work, and the emulation of traditional standards of workmanship was sought. Concepts of innovation and originality were not mentioned:

The Wellington Technical School exhibited a considerable number of articles of first-class workmanship. The most interesting exhibit of this school was a model cathedral made from original designs and working plans supplied by the students under the direction of Mr.A.R. Fraser. Every detail of church-building was shown with exactitude, even to the carving of the small doors into the vestry....This school also showed some fine beaten-copper work, burnished for a wall-panel and used as a frame for a mirror....A number of paintings, both oil and water colours, were shown and several good carvings.¹⁹¹

¹⁸⁸ NZAFA Catalogue, 1905 and 1906.

¹⁸⁹ Dorothy K. Richmond was one of the judges that year.

¹⁹⁰ *Official Catalogue and Souvenir of the New Zealand International Exhibition 1906-7*, p. 265.

¹⁹¹ *Official Record of the New Zealand International Exhibition Christchurch 1906-7*, p. 172.

Mina Arndt entered two competitions, Modelling Class III, a category with mainly female contributors (exhibit no 1714), and Section XXVI, an unspecified category for Technical School Students (exhibit no.1715).¹⁹² The inclusion of her student entries in the 1906 International Exhibition is further relevant, because a visit to the Exposition would have afforded Mina the opportunity to take in one of the largest displays of British contemporary art ever to be shown in New Zealand.

The painting section in both oil and watercolour as well as the Black and White section was dominated by the work of male artists.¹⁹³ Contributions by some of the best known British women painters of the time included genre, landscape and figure paintings by Henrietta Rae, Lucy Kemp-Welch and Louise Jopling. But only in the display of miniatures did the works by women outnumber that of the men.¹⁹⁴ Women were not only under-represented as exhibitors, they also attracted only a fraction of the patronage their male counterparts enjoyed. The work of British women artists bought by private purchasers, local art societies and galleries consisted mainly of watercolours, miniatures and etchings. Only Henrietta Rae, Flora Reid and Lucy Kemp Welch managed to sell an oil painting each.¹⁹⁵ The works of the male Academicians and the better established members of the New English Art Club made the biggest public impression. It is thus not surprising that Mina Arndt initially orientated herself entirely towards established, commercially successful male artists when she sought out her first teachers in London. Here it is interesting to note that most of the artists she later called on in London were well represented in the British exhibit at Christchurch. These included Solomon J. Solomon, Harold Speed, S. Melton Fisher and Stanhope Forbes.¹⁹⁶

The British Government Exhibit served as a reminder to local audiences and art students alike of the superior standard of art training available in Europe, while simultaneously compounding in the public mind the importance of British artistic role models.¹⁹⁷ This would have been reinforced in many cases by locally available publications like

¹⁹² *Official Catalogue and Souvenir of the New Zealand International Exhibition 1906-7*, p. 273.

¹⁹³ See *Official Catalogue of the British Government Exhibit at the New Zealand International Exhibit 1906-7*: Only 13 (or possibly 14- not all first names were gender specific) of the 200 exhibited oil paintings were by women, and women artists produced only 8 of the 123 exhibited watercolours. In the Black and White section, which included work by Queen Victoria, 24 of the 93 exhibits were by women.

¹⁹⁴ *Ibid.* Here men contributed only 10 (possibly 11) of the 60 exhibits.

¹⁹⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 350.

¹⁹⁶ See *ibid.*

¹⁹⁷ For an analysis of the British Government Art Exhibit at the 1906-07 International Exhibition, see L. Tyler, *Imperial Art: British Painting in the New Zealand international Exhibition, 1906-7*, M. A. Research Paper, University of Canterbury, 1983, and L. Tyler, *Art for the Empire: Paintings in the British Art Exhibit*, in J. M. Mansfield (ed.), *Farewell Colonialism: The New Zealand International Exhibition Christchurch, 1906-7*, Palmerston North, 1998, pp. 95-106.

The Studio or *The Magazine of Art*, to which the art societies and art schools often subscribed. Such secondary sources from overseas, as well as exhibitions of international art, no doubt further encouraged Mina to reevaluate the kind of training she had received in Wellington and must have strengthened her resolve to extend her limited competence in such subjects as life drawing with further study abroad. This would also enable her to learn about printmaking and painting from any number of highly qualified teachers. As already mentioned, many of New Zealand's most promising art students and artists had already departed for Europe with such aims in mind and some, like Hodgkins and Richmond, had returned home while Mina was still studying in Wellington. Hodgkins' views on European art in particular are well documented in the many letters she wrote to her family back home. It is more than likely, considering their shared Dunedin background and the closeknit nature of Wellington's small artistic circles, that Arndt was aware of the artistic influences Hodgkins came to appreciate during her time abroad.

After first visiting overseas galleries, Hodgkins frequently mentioned her disenchantment when face to face with works by Leader, Parsons or Herkomer, but expressed her delight with paintings by La Thangue, Stanhope Forbes, Clausen and Brangwyn, some of whom she called 'old Academy note(s) friends.'¹⁹⁸ By the time she was working in Newlyn in 1902, Hodgkins had become interested in the more formal aspects of painting, in colour and design. She was therefore most impressed with the work of Elizabeth Armstrong Forbes, as stated in her comment on the annual Newlyn show of 1902:

It was a brave show & the Stanhope Forbes work raised it to a much higher level. Her work was magnificent-much better than her husband's-they were mostly Shakespearian, medieval things-but they simply sang with colour & light & brilliancy-no one could touch her-she is head and shoulders above them all here or in fact in England. I think she is pretty generally regarded as the first woman artist in England-she together with Mrs. Adrian Stokes [Marianne Preindsberger] ...I am at Mrs. Forbes feet-she wins one with her strength of color & design-tho I don't want to be influenced by her - merely seeing her work helps one.¹⁹⁹

Hodgkins admired the extraordinary discipline and dedication Elizabeth Armstrong Forbes applied to her work, and described her as the only hard worker in the 'lazy little colony'.²⁰⁰ Hodgkins undoubtedly saw much of her own dedication to art reflected in Elizabeth Armstrong Forbes' professional attitudes. Without feeling the need to emulate

¹⁹⁸ See Linda Gill (ed.), *Letters of Frances Hodgkins*, Auckland, 1993, p. 75 & 86.

¹⁹⁹ Ibid., p. 123.

²⁰⁰ Ibid., p. 125.

the art of her Canadian counterpart, merely meeting Elizabeth Armstrong Forbes reinforced and inspired Hodgkins' professional ambitions. Furthermore, and despite her ironic commentary on the rest of the Newlyn's artists and the provincial character of their work, Hodgkins had much to say about the favourable living conditions and the more than generous moral support she experienced in the community. Meeting women artists of the calibre of Elizabeth Armstrong Forbes, as well as the agreeable nature of Forbes himself and his Newlyn friends, provided positive impressions Hodgkins was able to share with aspiring artists on her return to New Zealand. These might very well have influenced Arndt's later choice to spend most her time in Britain studying with the Newlyn painters.

Given Mina's professional ambitions and her knowledge of the inspiring contacts and artistic possibilities awaiting her in Europe, it was therefore fortuitous that an unknown benefactor²⁰¹ made it possible for the Arndts to travel to Europe in the early months of 1907. A brief paragraph in Wellington's *New Zealand Freelance* gossip page announced their pending departure to the Wellington public:

That clever reciter, Miss Jennie Arndt, is going to England for a trip, which makes the approach of winter doubly sad, for Jennie, in a dress of scarlet, reciting 'Omar', is an exhilarating spectacle. Miss Arndt learned a good deal from Mr Joe Clark, our deeply impressive heavy-weight reciter, but native talent in her case counts for much of the success she has undoubtedly achieved in our village. We all look forward with weird expectancy to the frills and flounces (elocutionary) that she will bring back from Birmingham and Berlin. She will be accompanied by her mother, two sisters and a well thumbed edition of Bacon's Shakespeare.²⁰²

Judging from these comments, the Arndt's had planned the trip to Europe not only to improve Mina's training opportunities, but also to give Jennie the possibility of extending her skills as an elocutionist. Travelling with her family meant that Mina at first had to fit in with her mother's and sisters' plans and seek her training where ever the rest of the family decided to go. As will be discussed in the following chapters, tying in such practicalities with her professional goals set Mina Arndt's overseas career apart from that of many of her fellow colonial expatriate artists.

²⁰¹ Interview between May Manoy and Ann Calhoun.

²⁰² *New Zealand Freelance*, 26 January 1907, front page.



Fig.: 5

Title: *Mina Arndt* (c. 1905)

Collection: priv. coll. Motueka



Fig. No.: 6

Title: James Nairn: *The Late Justice C. W. Richmond*

Collection: Supreme Court, Wellington



Fig. No.: 7

Title: Petrus van der Velden: *Portrait of a Man in Profile*

Collection: priv. coll., Auckland



Fig. No.: 8

Title: Petrus van der Velden: *Interior*

Collection: AAG

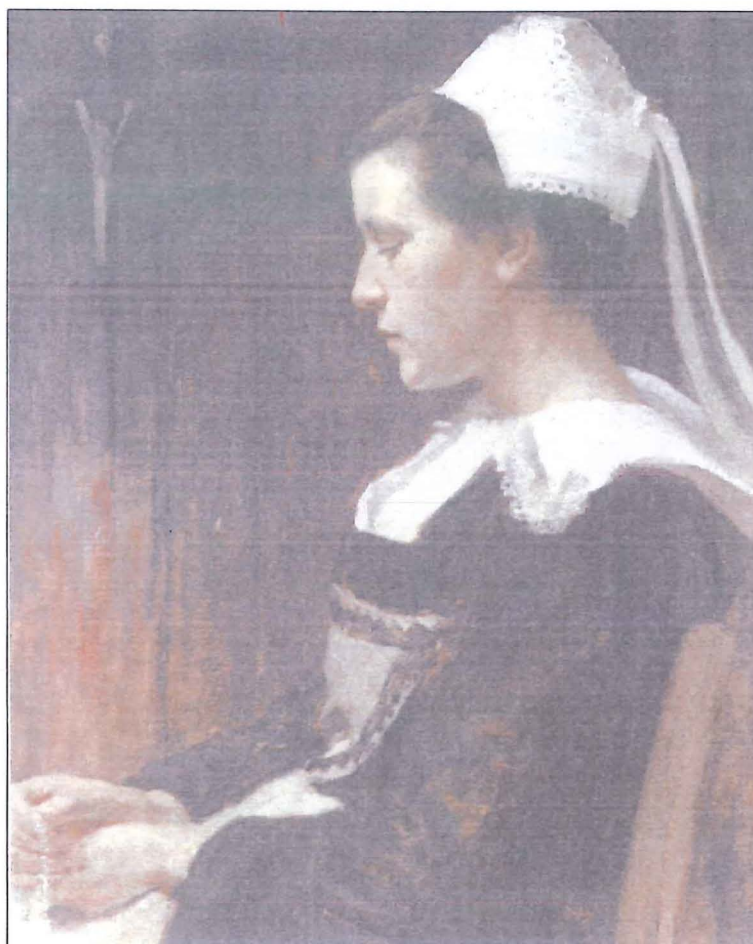


Fig. No.: 9

Title: Sydney Lough Thompson: *The Crucifix*

Collection: MONZ



Fig. No.: 10

Title: Frances Hodgkins: *Orange Sellers in Tangiers*

Collection: MONZ

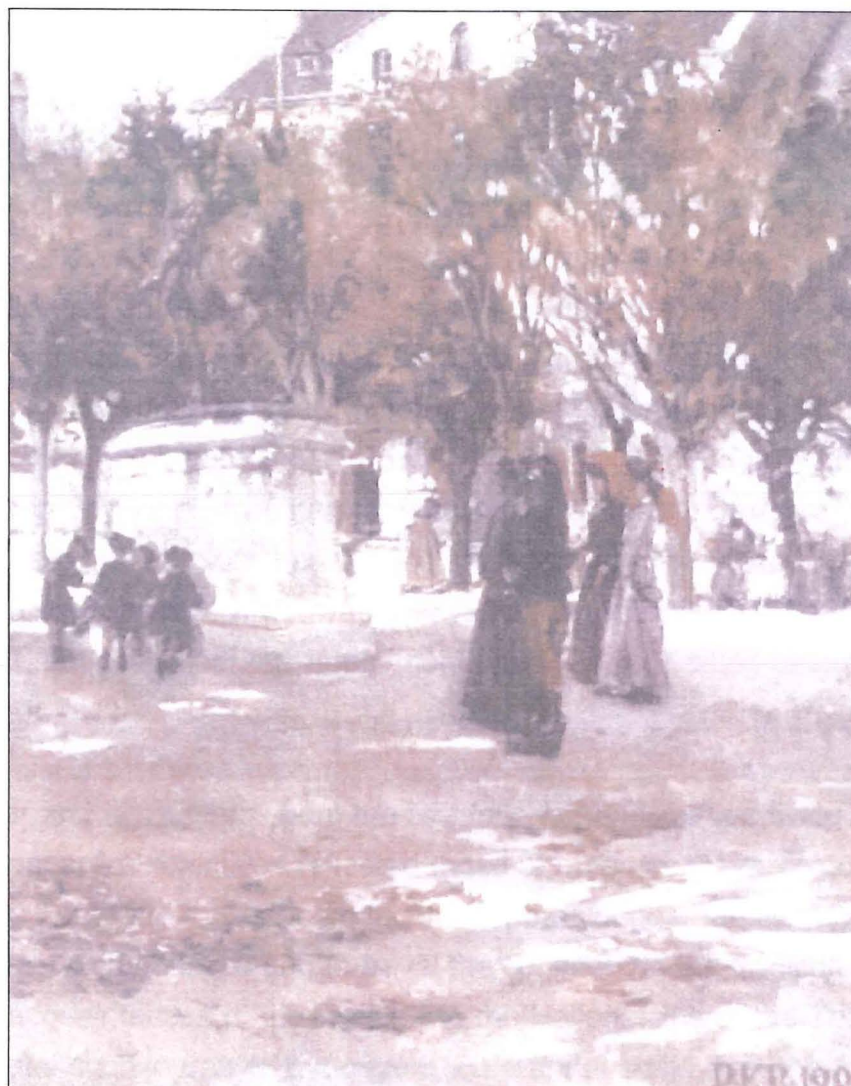


Fig. No.: 11

Title: Dorothy K. Richmond: *Autumn in the Square*

Collection: priv. coll.

Chapter 3: *Studying in London*

Her journey to Europe in 1907 linked Mina Arndt, now almost twenty-two years old, to those young and privileged colonials who rounded off their genteel upbringing with the obligatory pilgrimage to the touchstones of British and European culture. She also joined the often nomadic lifestyle of the many thousands of colonial art students who migrated each year to the art schools, artists' colonies and teaching studios of Europe in search of better training facilities and to familiarise themselves with modern art practices. In this, her personal circumstances, travelling to Europe as part of a close knit family, determined to a considerable degree the nature of her involvement in the British and European art world. During their stays in London, from 1907 to 1909, Arndt repeatedly enrolled at London School of Art. There she studied with Frank Brangwyn, whose influence on her and other colonial art students has thus far not been sufficiently investigated. While in London, Arndt was also taught by John Swan and the Australian George Lambert, both of whom are rarely mentioned in any existing biographical research on Arndt.

Mina, her mother and two sisters spent the first four years in Europe living and travelling together. Their apparent objectives reflected those of other wealthier colonial families who had gone to Europe to further the education of the younger family members, to renew their contact with relatives and to travel the continent in the tradition of the Grand Tour. Personal acquaintances of the Arndts like the Hallensteins or the Theomins had undertaken several such journeys, but on a much grander scale than the Arndt family. The Arndts had to be mindful of their finances and rented for themselves small apartments during their stays in London and Berlin, rather than staying in well appointed hotels. Their itinerary was comparatively restricted as well. Although they had planned to go to Rome, Mina and Edith in the end did not travel to Italy,²⁰³ and neither is there any evidence that they ever visited Paris.

The most conspicuous and consistent pattern emerging from the limited records of Mina's time in Europe is the fact that, throughout her years overseas, Mina and her family had regular contact with members of the Jewish community both in England and on the Continent.²⁰⁴ This included her mother's extended family network in Berlin. Therein the social patterns of Arndt's life abroad resemble those of the better known and far

²⁰³ Letter from Edith Arndt to her family, 10 February 1913 (Appendix IV)

²⁰⁴ See Nathan Papers (ATL, MS 1880).

wealthier American Jewish artist Florine Stettheimer.²⁰⁵ And as much as, for example, Mary Cassatt's art practice was informed by the fact that she and members of her family eventually settled in Paris, so was Mina Arndt's career shaped by her family's decision to spend most of their time abroad in Britain and Berlin. This chapter will therefore first outline the nature of Mina Arndt's training in London, where she initially lived after leaving New Zealand.

London was a popular first destination for many colonial art students, not only from New Zealand, but also Australia, Canada and the United States. In England, there was no language barrier to face to make one's introduction to life in the 'Old World' even more difficult and overwhelming than it no doubt already was for many of the newcomers. Particularly in the younger colonies like New Zealand or Australia, England was very much thought of as 'Home' and most colonial art students would have arrived in London with letters of introduction from family, friends or former tutors to help them decide which further course of study to pursue. By the early 1900s women had achieved by and large unlimited access to the art schools of London. As an extension of art school training, tuition from a specialist 'master artist' often provided students with the opportunity to develop further a particular, personal interest, in Arndt's case, for example, portraiture and figure painting. Perpetuating the paternalistic structure of the art world, this kind of private tuition not only provided an additional income and heightened status for the usually male 'mentor', but also served to lift the artistic credentials of the aspiring artists²⁰⁶ and, as the case of Arndt further illustrates, widened their circle of contacts in the artistic community. Mina herself set about finding her bearings in her new environment with some considerable confidence, calling at first on some of the better known London artists of the time for advice. They were representatives of the British mainstream, highly respected academicians, whose work was popular in colonial art circles and reflected the social and moral attitudes of the Edwardian era.

Her first visit to the London studio of an established artist took Mina to 18 Hyde Park Gate, where she met with Solomon Joseph Solomon 'to have a chat'²⁰⁷ about her work.

²⁰⁵ See Barbara J. Bloemink, *The Life and Art of Florine Stettheimer*, New Haven and London, 1995. Like Arndt, American Jewish artist Stettheimer (1871-1944) was of German descent and spent many years in Europe travelling and studying art while in the company of her mother and sisters. Bloemink observes that overseas, as well as at home in the United States, the Jewish communities the Stettheimers were part of were more significant as a social network, rather than a religious or spiritual one.

²⁰⁶ Her entry in the catalogue of the 1914 Paris Salon of the Société des Artistes Français, for example, describes Arndt as the pupil of Frank Brangwyn and Stanhope Forbes.

²⁰⁷ Note from J. Solomon to Mina Arndt, 2 May 1907. The whole note reads: 'Dear Miss Arndt, I shall be [pleased] a little later as to have a chat with you about your work, but at the moment I am staying at the home of my mother ...while my own at 18 Hyde Park...is ... being got ready for me. I shall be there on the 10th so that is I hope not too late. You might remind me and make an appointment...'

Solomon, R.A., P.R.B.A.(1860-1927), was a painter in oil of portraits, figure, and historical subjects. His submissions to the Royal Academy shows in the early 1900s included society portraits like *Mrs. Gerald Beddington* (1904) or *Lord Davey* (1906), and also pictures of children such as *Nellie, Daughter of C. Stettauer, Esq.* (1902), or *Papa Painting!* (1905), the latter presumably being a portrait of his own family. His contribution to the British Government exhibit at the 1906 New Zealand International Exhibition, a reclining nude entitled *Psyche* (1902) and an example of the sort of work he had become known for in the 1880s and 1890s, was purchased by the CSA for £440.²⁰⁸ It was probably his skill as a portraitist rather than his efforts as a subject painter, which encouraged Arndt to first seek his advice in May 1907. Solomon had also produced a number of portraits of dignitaries of the local Jewish community, such as *The Chief Rabbi* (1906). Her contact with Solomon thus takes on an added social dimension, as it is more than likely that Arndt had been introduced to him by mutual acquaintances within the London Jewish community. The same may be true for Grace Joel, who, when she arrived in London some seven years earlier, had also called on Solomon to discuss her work and take advice from him concerning further study. Before that, Joel had been presented to G.F. Watts, who was apparently astonished that a painter of her ability could hail from New Zealand and encouraged her professional ambition.²⁰⁹ To seek the advice of 'eminent' English artists was one way for Joel and other colonial art students to find their artistic bearings in Europe and Arndt followed that example. The fact that Solomon belonged to the Jewish community of London might explain why she met with him again following her first sojourn at Newlyn in 1909,²¹⁰ but did not keep in touch with the other two artists (both of them Gentiles) whom she called on shortly after her arrival.

One of these was Harold Speed, R.P. (1872-1957), a painter in oil and watercolours of portraits, figure and historical subjects. Speed had trained at the R.A. schools from 1891-96, and, having won a gold medal and a travelling scholarship in 1896, visited Paris, Rome, Vienna and Spain. From 1893 onwards, he regularly exhibited with the R. A. contributing important society portraits such as *His Majesty the King* (1905). He had the same or a similar picture, entitled *Portrait of King Edward VII* at the 1906 New Zealand International Exhibition in Christchurch, but also sentimental allegories such as *Cupid's Well* (1900) and a romantic portrait of his wife, *Mrs Harold Speed* (1902). Apart from the reproductions appearing regularly in the *Royal Academy Pictures*, his work was also

²⁰⁸ L. Tyler, in Thompson (ed.), p. 98.

²⁰⁹ See R. D. J. Collins, Grace J. Joel in New Zealand, 1905-1907, in *Bulletin of New Zealand Art History*, vol. 15, 1994, p. 65.

²¹⁰ Note from J. Solomon to Mina Arndt, 7 March 1909, 18 Hyde Park Gate, S.W. 'Dear Miss Arndt, I shall most likely be in most days at five... With kind regards, J. Solomon'

published in *The Art Journal* ²¹¹ and in *The Studio* ²¹². Arndt was therefore most certainly aware of his skill as a figure painter before she left New Zealand, but could have also seen his first solo show at the Leicester Galleries in 1907. That year, Speed was working at 8 Holland Park Road Studios, where he met Mina in early July,²¹³ but she did not pursue the contact any further.²¹⁴

A few days after visiting Harold Speed, Mina made an appointment to meet with Samuel Melton Fisher, who encouraged her on 12 July 1907 to 'look in this afternoon, I shall be glad to receive you.'²¹⁵ Fisher, R.A., R.W.A, P.S. (1860-1839), a painter of portraits, genre and figure subjects in oil, was a native of London and had been educated at Dulwich College and in France. He had studied art at the Lambeth School of Art and at the R.A. schools from 1876-81, where he, too, won a gold medal and a travelling scholarship. He subsequently studied under Bonnaffé in Paris, before settling in Italy for two years. From 1878 onwards he regularly exhibited at the R.A., as well as internationally. In 1899, the *Art Journal* published a richly illustrated and lengthy article on the achievement of Melton Fisher. The artist, by then already 39 years old, was praised as one of Britain's 'earnest young painters' who, in the face of much prejudice against the dowdy, insular nature of British art

conform with the canons of the beautiful that have made the language of Art universal and eternal...who are not content with a patois or slang version of this universal language; who will not confuse blatant mannerism with genius, nor sensationalism and advertisement with charm.²¹⁶

The article introduced the reader to a fair cross-section of Fisher's work, including a number of his figurative chalk studies and some of his paintings of children, motifs which Arndt was drawn to throughout her career. (See for example Cat. 102, 144, 157 and 182). In a critical language usually reserved for the appraisal of women artists' work at that time, his work is described as 'charming', with colours kept low in tone and harmonious in key. *The Black Veil*, a portrait of a young woman, published in *The Studio* in 1907,²¹⁷ gives a further indication why Arndt was interested in the art of Fisher, as the

²¹¹ See *The Art Journal*, 1905, pp.174-175.

²¹² See *The Studio*, vol. 38, 1906, pp. 8 &15.

²¹³ Note from Harold Speed to Mina Arndt, 2 July 1907: 'Dear Madam, ...I shall be happy to see you tomorrow morning at 11 o'clock [in your support...]'

²¹⁴ However, in 1913, Speed published a book entitled *The Science and Practice of Drawing*. It contained an illustration of a monochrome painting which closely resembles one of Arndt's portrait studies (Cat.133).

²¹⁵ Note from S. Melton Fisher to Mina Arndt, 12 July 1907. The whole note reads: 'Dear Miss Arndt, I was quite unable to make an appointment to see you this morning. But if you...will look in this afternoon, I shall be glad to receive you.'

²¹⁶ A. C. R. Carter, Mr Melton Fisher and His Work, in *The Art Journal*, 1899, p. 234.

²¹⁷ *The Studio*, vol. 42, 1907, p. 177.

work anticipates in subject matter, palette and broad fluid brush work Arndt's portraiture of later years. Her visits to Fisher, Speed and Solomon indicate where Mina's main artistic interests lay, namely in figurative painting, and are also consistent with the conservative nature of her artistic training in New Zealand before 1907 and the strong British focus of colonial culture. Once she became better acquainted with the British art scene, she sought out more consistently teachers at the more progressive 'French' end of contemporary British art, although always only as much as her family obligations allowed.

Here it needs to be emphasized that the circumstances as much as the timing of Arndt's arrival in London to a large degree determined the nature of her work for the rest of her career, 'immunising' her in a sense against the pronounced impact which modern art, particularly Post-Impressionism, was to have from the mid 1910s on the careers of some of her compatriots such as Edith Collier (1885-1964)²¹⁸ and Raymond McIntyre (1879-1933).²¹⁹ Few of these progressive tendencies in art had begun to take hold in Britain by 1907, the year Mina Arndt formed the artistic allegiances she was to maintain until she returned to New Zealand in 1914. As has been shown, Mina's first London contacts were respected, established professionals who rose to fame in the later Victorian era. These catered to the tastes of affluent middle-class patrons with images reflecting their economic achievements, with narrative, morally uplifting paintings, nostalgic scenes of country life and escapist eroticism.²²⁰ Portraiture enjoyed particular popularity during the early 1900s, which surely encouraged Arndt to study this particular genre herself. At the time, the most celebrated examples of this genre were produced and widely exhibited by

²¹⁸ See J. Drayton, *Edith Collier*, Christchurch, 1999. Edith Collier was born in Wanganui. From 1903 she attended the Wanganui Technical School, where she studied with Ivy Copeland and later with English artist Dennis Seaward. In 1912 she went by herself to England, where she studied at first at the St John's Wood School of Art. In December 1913, she showed eight of her pictures there. Between 1913 and 1915, she travelled widely within Britain, usually in the company of other artist friends. In 1914 she made the acquaintance of Australian artist Margaret Preston (1883-1963), with whom she worked in the village of Bonmahon in Ireland. Preston, who regarded herself primarily as a colourist, exerted a lasting influence on Collier and introduced her student to Post-Impressionist painting practices. Together the two artists exhibited at the Society of Women Artists in 1917. After several further exhibitions in Europe, Collier returned to New Zealand in 1921. Although she continued to exhibit with New Zealand art societies for some years to come, family commitments and a less than supportive social environment effectively ended her career by the late 1930s.

²¹⁹ See ACAG, *Raymond McIntyre (1879-1933)*, Auckland, 1984. Raymond McIntyre, a Christchurch painter, arrived in London in 1909. He initially enrolled at the Westminster Technical Institute, where he was taught by Walter Sickert and William Nicholson. Under the influence of modern trends in art, but particularly Post-Impressionism and the art of Matisse, he developed a decorative style which he extended into portraiture and landscape painting. By 1915, he was well established in London's progressive art circles and he lived and worked there for the rest of his life.

²²⁰ For a recent appraisal of 19th-century British art patronage and the Academicians response to the emerging influences of modern French art see, D. Sachko Macleod, *Art and the Victorian middle-class*, Cambridge, 1996.

the American artist John Singer Sargent (1856-1925).²²¹ Sargent had arrived in London in the 1880s and made his name in Britain with his full length portrait of *Lady Agnew* (1893), an early demonstration of the 'facile elegance of his manner,'²²² which his Edwardian audiences greatly admired.²²³ In the case of Sargent, this free handling of paint stemmed from his admiration for Monet, but the subdued tonality of his and much of Edwardian painting in general derived from the example of Velásquez, whose style had become fashionable with British artists in the late 1890s.

The work of Velásquez also influenced the art of James McNeill Whistler (1834-1903), who advocated a fluid handling of paint and restricted his palette to a limited range of subtle tones. A one-time associate of Fantin-Latour and a friend of Manet, Whistler, as early as the late 1860s, had challenged the British Academic tradition by preparing the 'ground in England for the acceptance of a manner of painting which, in the face of the natural or suburban world, served an interest in composing upon phenomena rather than embodying significance.'²²⁴ To educated middle class audiences this posed a problem, as they had 'imbibed from Arts and Crafts theorists a belief in the importance of seriousness and sincerity in both producer and product.'²²⁵ It was not only Whistler's roguish and provocative manner with which he defended his ideas, but also his style of painting which was at times described as 'impressionistic', that was still considered

²²¹ For a discussion of the Edwardian era and Edwardian passion for portraiture, see S. Hayes, *The Edwardian Turn of Mind*, London, 1968 and R. Charlton-Jones (ed.), *The British Portrait 1660-1960*, London, 1991. The career of Sargent himself has been widely documented. See for example Stanley Olsen, *John Singer Sargent: His Portrait*, London and New York, 1986, and Elaine Kilmurry & Richard Ormond (eds.), *John Singer Sargent*, London, 1998.

²²² C. Harrison, *English Art and Modernism 1900-1939*, London & Bloomington, 1981, p. 19.

²²³ Significantly, after 1907 Sargent decided to avoid portraiture and began to spend his summers on the continent engaged in *plein air* landscape painting.

²²⁴ Harrison, p. 19.

²²⁵ S.K. Tillyard, *The Impact of Modernism*, London, 1988, p. 40.

controversial by some when Arndt arrived in London.²²⁶ As S.K. Tillyard has pointed out 'Impressionism...was seen by its detractors as a purely scientific exercise, as an interest in technique *per se*, and as a concentration on the superficial appearance of things.'²²⁷ More acceptable to the British public at the time was therefore the work of New English Art Club (NEAC). The NEAC developed a popular British variant of Impressionism, which combined the ideas of Whistler with influences of French naturalism.²²⁸ However, the subject matter of much of their work carried on the tradition of the later Victorian era. Formed in 1886 (Whistler and Sargent being among the founding members), the NEAC united a number of Francophile younger painters, who rebelled against the rigid rejection of French influences by the Academy. Some of its early members even wanted to call the new organisation the 'Society of Anglo-French Painters.'²²⁹ Many of its founding members had crossed the channel to study in France and developed a style of painting which owed much to the *plein airisme* of the Barbizon school and the naturalism of Bastien Lepage. Following their return to Britain, a number of the NEAC artists decided to live in art colonies modelled on French artists communities, and focused on rural subject matter.²³⁰ But by 1905, the NEAC 'had already found its respectable level; it

²²⁶ The reluctance of some to accept Whistler as a significant force in modern art is highlighted by a review of Durand Ruel's 1905 Impressionist exhibition in London, *The Times*, 17 January 1905, p. 6. See also Kate Flint, *Impressionists in England: The Critical Reception*, London, 1984. The career of Whistler himself has been well documented. For a recent appraisal of his work see R. Dormont & M.F. MacDonald (eds.), *James McNeill Whistler*, London, 1994. One of Mina Arndt's London poems indicates that she had familiarised herself with the Whistlerian aesthetic. Entitled 'Symphony in Yellow', the poem reads:

An omnibus across the bridge
[has] moved against [Hestadowing] wharf
and like a yellow silken scarf
the thick fog hangs along the quay.

Big barge full of yellow hay
crawls like a yellow butterfly
and here & there a passerby
[scurries] like a little restless [midge].

The yellow leaves begin to fade
and flutter from the [taupe] elms
and at my feet the pale green Thames
lies like a rod of rippled jade.

(From Mina Arndt's sketch book, Cat. 103). The title of this poem is reminiscent of Whistler's theories on the relationship between pictorial harmonies and music, ideas he alluded to in titles such *Symphony in White, No. 1, The White Girl* (1863), or his *Nocturnes* of the 1870s. That Arndt had acquainted herself with the work of Whistler is mentioned in her letter to her family, 21 October 1909, where she discusses the work of Julie Wolfthorn: 'I love her style, its so rational & beautiful, tone & colour. She has been a Paris student & has never altogether lost the influence of Whistler & Aman-Jean.' (Appendix IV)

²²⁷ Tillyard, p. 117.

²²⁸ For a discussion of the NEAC and the influence of Impressionism on British art, see K. McConkey, *British Impressionism*, London, 1995.

²²⁹ Harrison, p. 20.

²³⁰ The formation of the British art colonies will be discussed in more detail in Chapter 4.

had reached a point of safety. It was too tired or too wise to venture further.²³¹ Founding members of the NEAC, like Newlyn artist Stanhope Forbes (1857-1947), had moved into the mainstream to the degree that most of them had become regular contributors of large scale, showy canvases to the Royal Academy exhibitions themselves.²³² Another, George Clausen (1852-1944), even became the R.A. professor of painting in 1904. At the same time, many NEAC artists, Clausen and Forbes among them, continued to develop their style and endeavoured to embrace more fully the example set by the French Impressionists. Thus by the early 1900s, Clausen had abandoned the square brushwork practised by the followers of Bastien Lepage and in works like *Dusk* (1903) demonstrated his interest in the effects of fluctuating light effects. Similar developments took place in the art of Stanhope Forbes. As seen in images like *Gala Day at Newlyn* (1907), he freed up his brushwork, brightened his palette and introduced colour into his rendering of shadows, while the nostalgic, rural subject matter stayed the same. Thus both painters updated the look of their work, but never endeavoured to become avant-garde.

It was the more radical faction of the NEAC under the leadership of Walter Sickert (1860-1942), which established themselves as painters of modern life in London. Sickert had been a close associate of Whistler in the 1880s, and with Wilson Steer was a founding member of the short lived London Impressionists group in 1889. In the late 1890s, Sickert, trained by Whistler 'in the arts of political maneuvering and polemics',²³³ was instrumental in the ousting of the Newlyn painters and the 'Glasgow Boys' from the NEAC committee. Following a prolonged stay on the Continent he had returned to London in 1905 to resume his prominent position (and bohemian lifestyle) in the more progressive London art circles. In 1907, with Spencer Gore and Lucien Pissaro, he founded the informal Fitzroy Street Group of artists, which by 1911 evolved into the Camden Town Group. Sickert's work of that period still recalled the tonal harmonies employed by Whistler, but his subjectmatter rebelled against his former master's preoccupation with 'good taste' - *Noctes Ambrosianae* (1906), for example, being just one of his many depictions of cheap music halls.²³⁴ The artists of the Fitzroy Street Group continued to show with the NEAC but from 1908 also submitted work to the Allied Artists Association (AAA), which held annual, jury free exhibitions (modelled on the Salon des

²³¹ J. B. Mason (secretary of the Camden Town Group) quoted in Wendy Baron, *The Camden Town Group*, London, 1979, p. 8.

²³² Stanhope Forbes, for example, successfully exhibited *A Fish Sale on a Cornish Beach* at the Royal Academy as early as 1885, a year before the NEAC was formed. In the early 1900s, his contributions to the Royal Academy included 'Good-Bye!'-Off to Skibbereen' (1901), *Chadding in Mounts Bay* (1902), *A Rescue at Dawn* (1904), *The Seine Boat* (1904), *The Woodman* (1905), or *Evening in the Village* (1906).

²³³ W. Baron, p. 5.

²³⁴ See W. Baron (1979) and Wendy Baron, *Sickert*, London, 1973.

Indépendants) at Albert Hall. Thus, from the time she arrived in London, Mina Arndt had opportunity to study not only examples of British academic art or fashionable Edwardian portraiture at the R.A., but could also compare the work of the different factions within the NEAC. When she had to decide on her future painting teachers, Mina Arndt eventually chose to study with the successful and socially respectable, yet moderately progressive NEAC members of Newlyn.²³⁵ By June 1907 Arndt had received a letter from Forbes and a prospectus of his school, advising her that the winter term she intended to spend in Newlyn was to commence in October and would last right through the winter months.²³⁶ Her choice found the approval of her family, as they thought of Cornwall as a delightful place to escape the cold and dreary London winters.

Initially though, while still based in London, Mina continued to orientate herself in the local art scene by visiting not only individual artists but also different art schools.²³⁷ As an outsider like the numerous Australian, Canadian, and American women and men²³⁸ who had been flocking to the European cradle of their colonial culture to expand and strengthen their training at the very sources of Western art practice, she may have found it difficult to decide on any particular course of study. Many of her colonial counterparts, like Grace Joel and Frances Hodgkins, left London after only a few months and eventually headed to Paris, which was then the undisputed centre of the European art scene. Here they studied at schools like the Academié Julian or at Colarossi's and Mina, who owned a copy of the *Journal of Marie Bashkirtseff* (published in 1890),²³⁹ perhaps entertained dreams of studying in France herself. Paris, however, did not figure in the itinerary of the Arndt family. From all accounts, they first based themselves in London, where Jenny was studying recitation with the renowned Genevieve Ward,²⁴⁰ an achievement her family was immensely proud of. Despite the status and impressive reputation of Solomon or Speed, Mina eventually decided not to work in the studio of either of these conservative masters. Neither did she choose to enroll at any of the better

²³⁵ For example, and as mentioned in Chapter 2, Frances Hodgkins and Dorothy K. Richmond both worked in Newlyn in the early 1900s. Auckland painter Walter Wright (1866-1933) studied with Forbes from 1901 to 1902.

²³⁶ Letter from Stanhope Forbes to Mina Arndt, 30 June 1907 (Mina Arndt papers, family collection, Motueka)

²³⁷ The last page of her sketch book in the Manoy collection shows a handwritten list of 'Drawings to be in July 6th: 1) Entire front of Polytechnic 2) New Life Rooms including class at work 3) New Antiques with large casts in position 4) View of the new art [room] with picture and furniture 5) Great hall showing gymnastic apparatus.' This entry indicates that Arndt possibly intended to join courses at one of the London polytechnics, just as Frances Hodgkins had done when she first arrived in London.

²³⁸ No statistics exist as to the precise numbers of colonial art students working in Europe at the time. However, most accounts of the history of Canadian, Australian, American or New Zealand art and artists contain references to colonial art students studying abroad around the turn of the century.

²³⁹ Donated by her family to the collection of the Hector Library, MONZ Te Papa Tongarewa, Wellington.

²⁴⁰ Interview between May Manoy and Ann Calhoun.

known local art schools during any of her stays in London over the next seven years, although these had been popular choices for other expatriate artists in the early 1900s.²⁴¹ Instead, Mina sought tuition from an artist whose work was reputedly French in character and enrolled at Frank Brangwyn's London School of Art in Kensington, probably as early as 1907.²⁴² It was Brangwyn who became the first of Mina's influential male mentors.

A small and private establishment, the school was located at the Stratford Studios in Kensington. Brangwyn (1867-1956) had set up a studio there as early as the 1890s, but it was in about 1906 that the majority of the six studios was taken over by Charles P. Townsley for the London School of Art.²⁴³ From all accounts, Arndt studied at the school over a number of terms, and was still working there in the spring of 1909:

Miss Mina Arndt, of Wellington, has been studying painting in London with Frank Brangwyn and others, at the London School of Art, and has just received the honour of a monitorship in one of the classes there - a position carrying with it many advantages.²⁴⁴

Mina could have learned about the London School of Art before leaving New Zealand. It was the only such establishment advertising in the *Art Journal* which offered courses in etching, along with drawing, painting, composition and illustration. Classes ran from the beginning of October to the end of June. It was claimed that the fees were moderate and that prizes and scholarships were awarded to students.²⁴⁵ Another draw card, from Arndt's point of view, may have been its convenient location near her Chelsea residence. According to May Manoy, Mina resided in a 'small house in Chelsea', and as mentioned earlier, one of her sketchbooks notes her address as 20 Rossetti Gardens, Chelsea. The relevant Post Office directories do not list the Arndts as living there at the

²⁴¹ New Zealanders studying in London at the time were Esther Hope (1885-1975), who first trained at the Chelsea Polytechnic and then enrolled at the Slade School of Art, where Rosa Spencer Bower (1865-1960) had studied from 1901. Sydney Lough Thompson studied at Heatherley's in 1900. From about 1910 Archibald Nicoll (1886-1952) studied at the Westminster School of Art, where Canadian Emily Carr was enrolled from 1899 to 1901. For a chronology of Australian women artists abroad, see Helen Topliss, *Modernism and Feminism - Australian Women Artists 1900-1940*, Sydney, 1996, pp.197-203. The careers of a number of male Australian expatriates are described in Bernard Smith, *Australian Painting*, Melbourne, 1971. Canadian male expatriate artists are discussed in Dennis Reid, *A Concise History of Canadian Painting*, Toronto, 1988.

²⁴² Among the Mina Arndt papers (Family collection, Motueka) is an invitation to an exhibition of student's work at the school, dated July 1907.

²⁴³ G. Walkley, *Artists Houses in London, 1764-1914*, Aldershot, 1994, p.144. C.P. Townsley was an American, who organised the School on behalf of Brangwyn and Swan.

²⁴⁴ *The British-Australasian*, 18 March 1909, p.19. *The British-Australasian* was an illustrated magazine which informed colonials about current affairs in Britain, including news about the activities of colonials staying or working there.

²⁴⁵ *The Art Journal*, January 1906, p. 6.

time, neither is Arndt recorded as having a studio in nearby Kensington, as remembered by May Manoy. The Arndts, given their nomadic lifestyle, probably lived in sub-let accommodation, and female artists were frequently advertising to share their studios with other female artists.

But perhaps most important when it came to making her decision about tuition in London was the fact that, in 1907, Brangwyn held several solo exhibitions there. Among them was a show of his etchings at Robert Dunthorne's Gallery, probably held in late April, and in June an exhibition of his watercolours at the Rowley Gallery in Kensington.²⁴⁶ Arndt herself had opportunity to see at least the latter of these shows, which may have drawn her attention to Brangwyn and his exuberant work. Drawing on his background as a designer he had developed a highly decorative style by organising his picture surfaces in bold patterns of pure, brilliant colour and heavy flowing outlines.²⁴⁷ Moreover, even long before he received the endorsement of London critics (some of whom had earlier declared his work to be an expression of 'vulgar exhibitionism')²⁴⁸ he already enjoyed an international reputation as one of England's 'young moderns' in countries such as Canada and the USA. Thus colonial art students were not only aware of his work, but, perhaps unaffected by the opinions of his British detractors, appreciated the vigour and decorative qualities of his paintings long before British audiences did. In any case, Brangwyn and his school had already come to the notice of a number of colonial art students. In fact, the career of Brangwyn, whose work has slipped into obscurity since his death in 1956, has never been adequately examined for the influence he had in the early 1900s on these students, several of whom were women.

Studying at the London School of Art between 1907 and 1909 were Australians Edith

²⁴⁶ Rodney Brangwyn, *Brangwyn*, London, 1978, pp.118-23. See also *The Studio*, vol. 40, no. 169, 1907, p. 220 and *The Studio*, vol. 41, no.172, p. 140.

²⁴⁷ Frank Brangwyn's first art teacher was his father, an architect and textile designer. At the age of fifteen he joined the Oxford Street workshops of William Morris, where for two years he was employed to produce facsimiles of Florentine tapestries. He then spent four years in Cornwall, painting in the main *en plein air*, and in 1885 began exhibiting his own paintings at the Royal Academy. These were characterised by subdued tonalities and extensive areas of blank canvas, as in *All Hands Shorten the Sail* (1889) and *The Funeral at Sea* (shown with the RBA in 1890.) Subsequent journeys to the Near East, South Africa, and a trip to Spain 1891 in the company of Scottish colourist Arthur Melville resulted in Brangwyn brightening his palette in numerous paintings of exotic subject matter, such as *The Slave Market* (1892). A year later, the success of his *Buccaneers* at the Paris Salon marked the beginning of a highly successful international career. He visited Venice in 1896, where it was not only the colourful spectacle of Venetian city life itself but also the art of Titian and Veronese which greatly impressed the young painter. In his later paintings and the large mural designs of heroic and biblical scenes, he mingled his early influences with his interest in the art of the Dutch and French Realists, namely Millet and Legros, Delacroix, the European Symbolists and the colourful canvases of the Pre-Raphaelite. For summaries of Brangwyn's career see Jane Turner (ed.), *The Dictionary of Art*, London, 1996, pp. 672-673, and R. Treble, The Art of Frank Brangwyn, in *The Burlington Magazine*, vol. 122, June 1980, pp. 444 - 445.

²⁴⁸ Brangwyn, pp. 90-91, 114, 119-20.

Hope and Jessie Traill, and New Zealand-born Australian painter Kathleen O'Connor (1876-1968). Among the New Zealanders, Frances Hodgkins' letters denote her early admiration for Brangwyn, and a number of her first European works, such as *Orange Sellers, Tangiers* (1901) recall in style and colouring the exuberance of Brangwyn's paintings. Margaret Stoddart (1865-1934), who lived and worked in Europe from about 1898 to 1906, considered Brangwyn to be 'one of the leading men' in British art at the time²⁴⁹ and his work was also admired by Dorothy K. Richmond.²⁵⁰ It was his ability to produce a decorative effect, using rich glowing colours, which also attracted Kathleen O'Connor, who described one of Brangwyn's works as 'a composition of the most fascinating patches of colour and the richest blues, giving an impression of a fine decorative whole. His paintings appear to some as grand tapestries....'²⁵¹ O'Connor, a student at the London School of Art at about the same time that Mina Arndt was working there, recalled that

Frank Brangwyn was a man of very few words, but when I was in the London School of Art for about six months before living in Paris he gave criticisms once a week. He usually took up the brush and made an illustration to show his way of seeing things. One girl I remember was trying to paint white tulips in water colours and he said don't worry about the lights just paint the shadows (in the shapes) and lo and behold the flower was there. His father was a carpet designer in Belgium and he had a strong feeling for decoration, also at that time thought very colourful.²⁵²

Amongst his British audiences it was Brangwyn's undeniable drawing ability and the success of his mural commissions which helped to turn public and critical opinion his way. Thus a review of a joint exhibition at the Rowley Gallery in December 1908 listed a series of his drawings to be the most important feature of the show,

many of them preparatory work for etchings, some of them with more force and vigour and subtlety than he can carry over into the etching, but all of them representing work of the highest order of this kind produced to-day.²⁵³

By the time Mina joined the London School of Art, it was becoming better known that Brangwyn was a versatile artist²⁵⁴ who had branched out into etching as one of the media he was interested in, an interest he certainly shared with Arndt. Even after Arndt had moved to Germany she remained in contact with Brangwyn, who inquired in a note

²⁴⁹ See Art in Europe, in *The Press*, 11 February 1907, p. 8. (Communication by Julie King, 30 March 1998) the career of Margaret Stoddart will be discussed in more detail in Chapter 6.

²⁵⁰ Johnston, p. 174.

²⁵¹ Kathleen O'Connor, quoted in P.A.E. Hutchings & J. Lewis, *Kathleen O'Connor, Artist in Exile*, Fremantle, 1987 p. 156.

²⁵² Ibid.

²⁵³ *The Studio*, vol. 45, No. 190, January 1909, p. 308.

²⁵⁴ See Walter Shaw Sparrow, *Frank Brangwyn and His Work*, London 1910, Appendix III, pp. 249-252, for a select bibliography of articles and books on Brangwyn published before 1910.

to her whether she had seen his exhibition of etchings in Berlin.²⁵⁵ As has been shown, art tuition was limited in New Zealand, and few local printmakers of note exhibited before 1905. Studying with Brangwyn therefore had the potential to address an obvious gap in Arndt's art training thus far. Apart from a personal interest in the technique, another reason for Arndt to venture into printmaking was the renewed popularity the graphic arts were enjoying at the time, especially in France and Britain.²⁵⁶ A source of national pride in the early 1900s, British printmakers and prints were not only admired at home but enjoyed an international reputation, a fact which might have inspired Hermann Struck, Mina's German printmaking teacher, to regularly exhibit with the Royal Society of Painter-Etchers and Engravers. Indeed, as late as the 1930s it was a widely held belief in Britain that local painting might not offer much to recommend itself, but

in one field, however, and a big one at that, no nation can approach our standard. We have finer graphic artists than any other country - and a surprising number of them.²⁵⁷

As will become apparent, Mina Arndt, while experimenting widely with painterly media, as a printmaker never explored any alternatives to the etching technique. Here, she was entirely consistent with the practice of her time. With very few exceptions, printmakers then did not 'stray' from their chosen medium. They were identified and marketed their work as either etchers, or lithographers, or wood-engravers. They formed their own specialised societies and were supported by specialist publishers. When she decided to branch out into etching, Mina Arndt aligned herself with the largest subgroup of British printmakers, the intaglio printers. The techniques most widely used by the intaglio printers were etching and drypoint, following the example set by the much revered

²⁵⁵ See undated note from Frank Brangwyn to Mina Arndt (Mina Arndt papers, family collection, Motueka): 'Dear Miss Arndt, many thanks for your letter... I hope you have been getting on well with your work did you see my show of etchings in Berlin? With kind wishes...Brangwyn.'

²⁵⁶ In Britain, the etching revival had begun in the 1860s under the leadership of enthusiastic amateurs like Seymour Haden, who founded the Society of Painter-Etchers and Engravers in 1880. Reflecting the rising popularity of printmaking in Britain, the group became a 'Royal' society some eighteen years later. By then, professionals dominated the British printmaking scene. Whistler enjoyed tremendous success with his etchings throughout his career, while D.Y. Cameron (1865-1945), Muirhead Bone (1876-1953) and James McBey (1883-1959) were among the best known of early 20th-century British printmakers. Before the collapse of the market for prints in the 1930s, (dealers by then were demanding prices thought of as far too high for graphic art), printmakers achieved not only tremendous commercial success, but also celebrity status - Cameron and Bone were even knighted for their achievements. The work of the well known printmakers was highly sought after by collectors and given even higher visibility through the efforts of specialised publishers. In the early 1900s, almost every issue of *The Studio* or *The Magazine of Art* contained illustrated articles dedicated to contemporary printmakers, while the enthusiast could also consult specialist journals, collectors' guides and a number of books on the subject.

²⁵⁷ Gui St Bernard, writing in 1931, quoted in: Frances Carey and Antony Griffiths, *Avant-Garde British Printmaking 1914-1960*, London, 1990, p.9. For a further appraisal of the British printmaking scene at the time, with special reference to Whistler, see S. Achenbach, *Berufskünstler und Amateure, Whistler-Haden und die Blütezeit der Graphik in England*, Berlin, 1985.

While perhaps difficult to understand from today's vantage point, when it could be argued that Arndt was taking on too much too soon, Mina's foray into printmaking, and more specifically into etching, made good professional sense at the time. Prints were popular collector's items and, because they were more affordable than paintings, promised a measure of commercial success and potentially a more consistent source of income in the highly competitive art world. Not surprisingly, other New Zealand artists, including Edith Collier who ventured into printmaking about ten years later, followed her example. Lithography and wood engraving also enjoyed a fair measure of popularity at the time, and both techniques were used by Frank Brangwyn who, judging from the range of artistic techniques he experimented with (drawing, painting, mural painting, printmaking and interior design) understood himself to be something of a Renaissance artist. His enjoyment of different media and techniques may have encouraged Arndt to maintain a similar versatility for the remainder of her career, but at no stage did she reach the level of technical bravura which characterises much of Brangwyn's work in any medium. Confident of his identity as a professional artist, Brangwyn, like all of Arndt's subsequent male mentors, was able to subordinate all other aspects of his life to the demands of his profession. By comparison, from her earliest student days to the later years of her career in New Zealand, Arndt attempted to align her art practice (that is to say her artistic identity) with the the roles of daughter, sister, wife and mother.

When Mina Arndt began to experiment with printmaking, Brangwyn was considered a most unorthodox etcher. Not only did he draw on occasion directly onto a zinc rather than copper plate while working out of doors, he also refused to conform to Whistler's dictum that 'a huge plate is an offence.'²⁵⁹ Brangwyn produced etchings on a large scale, at times using plates nearly 90 cms wide, which suited his bold style of drawing and ambitious subject matter. Not for him were the delicate small etchings of 'Whistler's most exacting ideal of proportion',²⁶⁰ which collectors of the time usually kept in solander boxes. These would be taken out on occasions and admired for their exquisite lines and expressive qualities. Brangwyn instead aimed to produce 'a print of impressive design that should decorate a wall.'²⁶¹

²⁵⁸ Ibid., p.10. As pointed out by Carey and Griffiths, 'aquatinta was damned by its historical association with reproductive topographical printmaking, and it was felt daring to use it. Mezzotint was equally suspect through its association with portraiture. Stipple was obsolete. Equally obsolete was engraving...'

²⁵⁹ M. S. Salaman, *Modern Masters of Etching*, London, 1924, p. 3.

²⁶⁰ Ibid., p. 3.

²⁶¹ Ibid., p. 2.

Although often criticised for the unruly size of his etchings, and for the amount of ink he preferred to leave in smears on the plate to aid pictorial expression, he also had a number of influential supporters. Indeed, critical opinion found in his etchings and drawings all the very best aspects of Brangwyn's art practice. Considering his technical experimentation in the print media, it was pointed out that although

Mr. Brangwyn's conception of the etcher's responsibility to his material has apparently never exacted the rigid selective economy of line which the connoisseur is accustomed to look for as the hall mark of the orthodox etcher, it has always ensured the full weight of pictorial expression in form and tone is being carried by the lines themselves in such sufficiency as should satisfy his emotional utterance.²⁶²

However, it was this strong expressive content of Brangwyn's etchings (and drawings), which in the mind of others pushed his art dangerously close to the work of the 'moderns'. It was said that his etchings lacked ideality and that (in contrast to his murals) they showed too much concern with the 'spirit of the modern age.' But accusations such as this were swept aside as 'being unhelpful' by one of Brangwyn's most consistent supporters, Walter Shaw Sparrow. In a comment addressing perhaps the more conservative members of the Royal Academy, he exclaimed:

Ideality? This word sends us back to the Victorians, a great many of whom, in their eagerness to progress, borrowed or filched a great many, too many pregnant facts, fine ideas, big schemes, acute observations and other collected treasures, turning their brains into classic books while helping to muddle their country's present and future. They seemed to live and move between quotation marks.²⁶³

Brangwyn, the author insisted, was on the right path. Instead of becoming submerged in the preoccupations of the 'modern mind', he remained a critical observer whose sympathies for the working class would not get in his way of producing work characterised by genius, because

genius sees too much and knows too much ever to believe sincerely that millions of votes from minor minds can rule without doing serious harm over the few thousands who are fitted by uncommon gifts to govern wisely.²⁶⁴

Brangwyn, then, was perceived to straddle the gap which had opened up between the conservative and modern forces in British art early in the 20th-century, while remaining

²⁶² Ibid., p. 3.

²⁶³ W.Shaw Sparrow, *Prints and Drawings by Frank Brangwyn with some Other Phases of his Art*, London, 1919, p. 53.

²⁶⁴ Ibid., p. 54.

acceptably moderate in his views on modernism. In a remark later echoed in one of Mina's letters from Berlin, Brangwyn (reflecting on a catalogue for a banned exhibition of German Expressionism), summed up his opinion of modern art itself, and more specifically abstract art, as follows:

It's always a fiddle or a woman's face, a thing done badly of something that exists...Abstract art is no more than a concrete representation, bad as it is, of something that exists...Now, if I was to shy some colour on a canvas, rub my boot over it, the pattern may be a pleasant colour, but these things are not beautiful to look at.²⁶⁵

It was not only Brangwyn's versatility and certain formal aspects of his work, but also his interpretation as to what constituted good modern art practice, which reverberated in Arndt's work for the remainder of her career. Considering her overall oeuvre, Brangwyn's influence on Arndt's work in terms of form and content is most evident in her works on paper, both in her student drawings and early etchings as well as in much of her later work. Brangwyn, who himself was drawing incessantly, urged his students constantly 'to consider every potential subject in terms not of prettiness or charm, but of balanced design, structure and unity.'²⁶⁶ Unlike Forbes, with his unflinching adherence to nature as he observed it, Brangwyn was of the opinion that nature needed only to provide the starting point, from which the artist could build a design of evenly balanced masses and effective tonal contrast, arranged around a focal point. From that, Mina developed not only an effective way to structure her outdoor sketches with many of Brangwyn's favourite compositional devices, but also a preference for a bold drawing style, in which, more often than not, the linear element is subordinated to strong tonal contrasts. Brangwyn's methodical, compositional approach, as in *Building the New Kensington Museum* (n.d., fig. 12) reverberates in a number of Arndt's later outdoor sketches of the Motueka region (for example Cat. 211, 212, 213). But her works are simpler and less concerned with a dramatic overall effect, even in her later bush studies (Cat. 84), where Arndt demonstrated that she had learned to conceive the surface of her images in terms of an intricate overall pattern, rendering the trees in a calligraphic fashion similar to Brangwyn. Her compositions are not only less complex, they also communicate little of the nervous energy which animated much of Brangwyn's work.

Similar observations can be made about Arndt's and Brangwyn's interpretations of one of the favourite themes of the French Realists, that of rural, manual labour. In his lithograph *Mowers at Work* (n.d., fig. 13), Brangwyn places groups of figures of

²⁶⁵ William de Belleruche, *Brangwyn - As I know Him* (Box 1. 198E, National Library of Art, V& A Museum, London), quoted in: P. Hutchings & J. Lewis, p. 33.

²⁶⁶ Reported in Brangwyn, p.105.

contrasting scale along emphatic vertical and diagonal compositional lines and further highlights the heroic and energetic nature of male manual labour with strong tonal contrasts. In *The Girl with the Rake* (Cat.147) Arndt draws the viewer's attention to the individuality of her single subject. The girl's work appears to be done, and Arndt employs strong tonal contrasts to animate an image of quiet introspection and physical weariness, far from the propagandistic bombast of Brangwyn's *Mowers*. Parallel conclusions can be drawn from a comparison of Brangwyn's and Arndt's etchings.

Here, again, a similarity exists in the choice of subject matter²⁶⁷ and working method. Before 1914 Arndt produced a number of rural village scenes and views of the Thames in London, transferring carefully worked out preparatory studies onto same-size plates. Yet her images, as seen for example in *Schandau* (Cat. 272), are small and timid efforts when compared to Brangwyn's large and dramatic prints like *The Storm* (c.1904, fig. 14). As was the case with her drawings, Brangwyn's influence reverberates more in Arndt's use of strong tonal contrasts, juxtaposing as in *Street in Corfe* (Cat. 294) the dark shades of a vigorously sketched tree with the lightly outlined cottage on the left. *Paper Barges, Chelsea* (Cat. 282) illustrates a similar approach. However, this river scene, with dark, shadowy boats set against a sketchily rendered background is not dissimilar to Whistler's etchings of Venice, Holland or the Thames (as for example, *Black Lion Wharf* of 1859),²⁶⁸ further suggesting that Arndt looked beyond her teacher's example when she began printmaking.

Here it is interesting to add that Brangwyn had a more notable influence on the art of Australian printmaker Jessie Traill (1881-1967). Working at the London School of Art in 1907 and receiving more tuition from Brangwyn in 1908, Traill, who had learned the techniques of etching while studying in Melbourne, adjusted her style and subject matter to that preferred by Brangwyn: images of heavy contrasts, vigorously inked, depicting scenes of urban expansion in highly dramatic images. Like Arndt, Traill preferred less complex compositions for her own works,²⁶⁹ but Brangwyn's overall profound impact on Traill's career mirrors the influence Hermann Struck later had on Arndt. Indeed, it may

²⁶⁷ See Shaw (1910), pp. 236-244, for a list of Brangwyn's preferred subjects in his etchings.

²⁶⁸ For numerous examples of Whistler's etchings, see R. Dormant & M. F. MacDonald (1994), as well as J. F. Heijbroek & M. F. MacDonald, *Whistler and Holland*, Amsterdam, 1997.

²⁶⁹ Most notably, Traill resisted Brangwyn's dictum to fill in any vacant part of her designs to achieve the dense, decorative quality which he himself preferred. On one of her drawings, which retained a vacant area of sky almost as large as the landscape depicted below, he scribbled: 'This might do if it had some cattle for interest in the foreground, and a wild storm cloud filling up the sky space. Other wise as it is it would be sort of axle [sic] of black and white...and much more so when etched.' See Mary Alice Lee, *An Australian Art Student of Frank Brangwyn: Jessie C.A. Traill in London and Belgium, 1907-1908*, in *The Art Bulletin of Victoria*, no.30, 1989, p. 62.

have been Brangwyn who introduced Mina to the German artist.²⁷⁰ Under Struck's tutelage, Mina developed a more assured etching technique, concentrating on figurative subject matter, but Brangwyn needs to be credited with relating her drawing skills to the print media and introducing her to the expressive possibilities of etching.

Completely overlooked so far by Arndt's previous biographers, however, has been Brangwyn's interest in pastel and coloured washes and the possibility that Mina owed much of her skill in both media to the tutelage of Brangwyn. Brangwyn was said to love all good drawing²⁷¹ and produced numerous studies for all his commissions. He soon branched out into pastels, a medium which combined drawing with the possibilities of working in colour, after the example of Degas, who frequently used pastel and often in combination with other media.²⁷² Pastels, however, had never been ranked highly in the hierarchy of British arts. They remained segregated from higher art forms, such as oil painting because

they were liked as very nice, pretty, clean things- 'not messy, you know, like oil-paints'- pastels achieved fame as a boon to any girl who wanted to be a Rosalba Carriera without spoiling her frocks, or staining her hands, or shocking papa and mamma with the drying smell of oil pigments.²⁷³

While a few late 18th-century artists such as John Russell achieved some fame and royal patronage as *painters in crayon*, their works were long since forgotten. Brangwyn's supporters therefore applauded his venturing into the art of pastel drawing. His works in pastel, like *The Crucifixion* (n.d.), were described as

among the great deeds which could convince us that pastel belongs essentially - not to the art of drawing, but to the arts of colour and painting. Reticent as it is in hue and tone, it has qualities - original freedom and power, with amplitude and rapt imagination - which we expect to find in a virile master's inspired sketch with paint; and any oil painter who tried to copy its appeal would find that he had undertaken a hard task indeed.²⁷⁴

Brangwyn then, by virtue of being a male with a versatile talent, was able to lift pastel

²⁷⁰ Interview between May Manoy and Ann Calhoun.

²⁷¹ His supporters saw in his drawing a sign of his genius, for 'a man of genius, when he tries to overrule his inborn bent, sets affectation to defeat him; every phase of his changing work should arise from inward and unforced impulse and necessity,...and thus genuine differences between men of genius, which are revealed always most nakedly in sketches and jottings and studies, whether coloured or monochrome, are things to be received as we accept from Nature the distinctive marks of species, genera and breeds.' Sparrow, (1910), p. 251.

²⁷² For a good selection of Degas' pastels, see T. Reff, *Degas, The Artist's Mind*, New York, 1976.

²⁷³ W. S. Sparrow (1910), p. 247.

²⁷⁴ Ibid, p. 248.

from its confinement to boudoirs and ladies' drawing rooms into the realm of high art. However, artists were generally ill advised to do so. Despite their obvious appeal, pastels, like water colours and coloured washes, continued to fetch only a fraction of the price of oil paintings. Brangwyn might not have produced as many drawings and pastels as he did, and therefore might have been a much less versatile artist, had he not been able to make a good living from his mural commissions alone. As it was, he considered it necessary to excuse his forays into the graphic arts as a form of relaxation from more serious artistic pursuits. Mina Arndt, by comparison, growing up in New Zealand, saw many local art society shows displaying drawings, watercolours and oil paintings in close proximity to each other and therefore developed a more flexible attitude to the validity of a variety of media. Furthermore, few colonial patrons could afford to buy expensive oil paintings and colonial artists were therefore well advised to master a range of graphic media.

Pastels and washes were therefore other techniques which Brangwyn may have encouraged his young student to develop. One of her earliest pastels *The Baby* (Cat. 157) illustrates how Arndt's and Brangwyn's use of the pastel medium is fuelled from the same source, the possibility of combining an enjoyment of drawing with the use of strong colour. But as before, while the subject matter of his pastels is heroic, even dramatic, hers are more restrained, portraying the concerns of the women around her and the intimate spaces occupied by women: interiors, the rural environment around her house, women at work, babies, children. (See, for example, Cat. 233, 234, 237, 253) Similarly, Arndt's *Hop Kilns, Winter* (Cat. 60), while it offsets muted areas of colour with loose, calligraphic lines in pencil and wash, much in the manner of Brangwyn's water colour *Unloading at London Bridge* (n.d., fig. 15), is less dramatic and animated than Brangwyn's work. Today, though, because of its lack of figurative detail, Arndt's work appears to be less of a dated, historic snapshot than Brangwyn's London scene.

Brangwyn on all accounts was a nervous man and in this respect ill suited to teaching. Like his colleague John Swan, he was excessively conscientious and swamped his students with long lectures. He felt pressured because his teaching commitments forced him to neglect what he saw as his more important work. In 1908, exhausted from an overwhelming work load, Brangwyn fell seriously ill while teaching in Bruges and was taken to hospital. A slow recovery finally forced him to admit that he could cope no longer with all his work commitments, and he quit teaching that year. Mina, who in 1907 was based in London therefore had no opportunity to attend his summer classes on *plein air* painting in Belgium. Therefore Brangwyn's former teachers at Newlyn, who later also

became Mina's tutors, were to have a more profound impact on the young student in this particular medium, as will be discussed in the next chapter. More difficult to assess is the artistic influence that Mina's other teachers at the London School of Art - John Swan, William Nicholson and George Lambert - had on the young artist.

The oldest of this trio and the co-founder of the London School of Art, John Macallan Swan R.A., R. W.S, (1847-1910) , was known as a fine painter and sculptor of animal subjects, but he also exhibited numerous nudes. He was born in Brentford and studied art at the Worcester School of Art and the Lambeth School of Art (under John Sparkes) before moving to Paris where he studied with Bastien-Lepage and Gérôme. Swan exhibited with the R.A. from 1878 and having been elected RWS in 1899, became a full member of the R. A. in 1905. He was also a member of the Dutch Water Colour Society and received honorary mentions and medals from the Paris Salon. His involvement with the London School of Art added to the broad appeal of respectability of the School and, following conservative British teaching practices of the time, he impressed upon his students the importance of comprehensive drawing skills. Swan usually taught the life-classes in the morning, while Brangwyn taught the figure and still life class in the afternoon. Among Mina Arndt's surviving early drawings are many life studies of nude male and female models as well as general figure studies (contained in early sketchbooks, Cat. 103-106), but no still life studies of that period are known today. This seems to indicate that Arndt concentrated entirely on her figurative work while at the London School of Art. (See fig. 16 for a photograph of Mina Arndt during her student days in London)

When she re-enrolled in 1909, the teaching style at the School had undergone considerable changes, when compared to its early days. Australian painter George Lambert had taken over from Brangwyn, along with William Nicholson and the lesser known artists Niels Lund, Uellina Parkes, C.P. Townsley and Helen Wilson.²⁷⁵ The curriculum had been expanded to include not only life drawing and still life, but also costume, portrait, sketch, composition, illustration and anatomy. The school was now run like a French *atelier*, with the instructors usually just visiting once a week while senior students like Mina took over the stewardship of one of the classes. The change in direction was favourably commented on in an 1909 review of the annual exhibition of student work. Perhaps owing to Brangwyn's departure from teaching, the group of compositions was less impressive than in previous years

but in all other departments the work showed a distinct advance upon that

²⁷⁵ Anne Gray, *Art and Artifice - George Lambert, 1873-1930*, Sydney, 1996, p. 42.

included in the exhibition of 1908. This was particularly noticeable in the paintings and drawings from the nude...Breadth and vigour and the right impression of the subject as a whole, are the things especially aimed at in the life classes at this school, in which the principal teachers are Mr. William Nicholson and Mr. George W. Lambert. The students are not allowed to worry over the detail until the figure has been drawn and built up with approximate accuracy, and in one or two not quite completed paintings from the nude (executed in Mr Nicholson's class) the faces, to which many students devote their first attention, were still mere blank ovals of paint...The painting of still life is always encouraged at the London School of Art, and in this class the quality of the work was exceptionally good. Here, again, was evident the attempt to make the students see and render the whole thing portrayed in its right relation to the background. The influence of Mr. Nicholson was shown in the directness and simplicity of the work, in the evidence of a restricted palette, and, perhaps, in the curiously coarse canvas affected by some of the students.²⁷⁶

Apart from giving a good impression of the kind of approach taken by Mina's later London teachers, this review hints at a hitherto unknown influence on her work, that of William Nicholson (1872-1949). As has been mentioned, Mina had little interest in still life painting prior to her return to New Zealand. But a few nudes survive among her earlier paintings, one a reclining female nude she reportedly worked on in 1913 with the intention to submit the work to the Paris Salon, and an unfinished study of a standing female nude (Cat. 1). This latter painting appears to be student work: the hand on the chest of the model is disproportionately large and Arndt, perhaps in an attempt to resurrect the painting, altered the background several times. She had also begun to paint a cloak over the nude figure, which is seen as if standing by an open window. However, as originally conceived, the study has a simplicity about it which is reminiscent of some of Nicholson's own work and not only affects 'the coarse canvas' as apparently favoured by him, but also depicts the face of the subject as a more or less 'blank oval'. Unfortunately, the scarcity of surviving examples does not allow for any further assessment of Arndt's nude studies. The evidence suggests that Mina received comparatively little tuition in painting from the nude, and that from the earliest days her main interest continued to be portraiture and figurative genre painting. George Lambert (1873-1930) was involved in her tuition at that time²⁷⁷ and his colonial background as well as his training certainly form an interesting link with Arndt's own experiences and artistic preferences.

Russian-born George W. Lambert was the son of an Australian mother and American father. His father, who was a railway engineer, died when George was a baby. His

²⁷⁶ *The Studio*, vol.47, 1909, pp. 243-244.

²⁷⁷ See Mina Arndt's obituary, *New Zealand Freelance*, 26 December 1926 p. 6, where Brangwyn and Lambert are listed as her principal teachers in London.

mother returned to Australia to live at her father's house. It was in Australia, studying under Julian Ashton, that Lambert received the kind of conservative academic training which 'if a man is to master his medium and make it do as he wishes, cannot be shirked.'²⁷⁸ In 1900 Lambert, together with his wife, went to Paris on a travelling scholarship, awarded for the first time by the NSW Art Society. There he studied at the Academié Colarossi and Atelier Delécluse, before moving to England with his family in about 1902. In London, he primarily supported them all by producing illustrations for numerous magazines and newspapers. Having gained some reputation with regular contributions to the Royal Academy, Lambert expanded his commercial success by knowingly catering to the tastes of his conservative patrons with numerous subject pictures, allegories, portraits, still lifes and flower studies. Lambert also became known as an untiring producer of sketches, who, early in his London stay, began to specialise in clear, light pencil portraits. Later he studied the work of Manet, Velásquez, and the 17th-century Dutch masters of flower and still life painting. Considering the nature of his art practice, as well as his interest in Dutch art, Lambert would have drawn Arndt's attention. Moreover, he was a successful and versatile artist, who shared with Brangwyn an interest in a wide variety of media, including sculpture. Moreover, Lambert's work, especially his painting, displayed the same brilliancy of execution that characterised so much of Brangwyn's oeuvre. An outgoing, sociable man, interested in all aspects of the arts and music, Lambert stood at the centre of the Australian expatriate community in London.²⁷⁹ At the London School of Art, he enjoyed the camaraderie among the students and put much effort into his teaching. Like Brangwyn, he reminded his charges of the importance of the 'principles of construction in drawing and the ordered approach to painting.'²⁸⁰ Arndt shared his preference for figure painting in a broad painterly technique and restricted palette, but as was shown in the comparison with Brangwyn, Arndt's work displayed none of the bravura of Lambert's paintings.

Lambert's pre-war paintings included a number of society portraits and family groups, rendered most often in the fluent, virtuoso brush work so admired by his Edwardian audiences and recalling at times, as in *Sybil Waller in Red And Gold Dress* (1905), the extravagant portraiture of the Pre-Raphaelite painters. For the most part however, he

²⁷⁸ J. MacDonald, *The Art and Life of George Lambert*, Melbourne, c.1920, p. 7.

²⁷⁹ Shortly after enlisting for WW1, Lambert became the official war artist for the Australian Light Horse Brigade and served at Gallipoli and in Palestine. A prolific painter, he returned from the war with the hundreds of paintings and sketches which would finally make his reputation. Lambert returned to Australia in 1921, where he became a (if not *the*) leading figure of the art world until his death in 1930. Perhaps bitter about the way in which the academic milieu he was considered to be part of had curtailed his initial creative output, he later in life supported the moderns. In 1926 he, along with Thea Proctor, invited Grace Cossington Smith, Roland Wakelin and others to exhibit alongside the two major artists at the Grosvenor in London.

²⁸⁰ A. Gray, p. 42.

employed a restricted palette, concentrating on ochre, brown and blue tones, with occasional contrasting details of red. *Miss Katherine Powell* (1909) evokes the tradition of Joshua Reynolds' elegant society portraits and the confidence and fluidity of Singer Sargent's mature style. Even Lambert's more domestic *Mother and Sons* (1909, fig. 17) although by no means the image of a sophisticated family group, exudes social ease, liveliness and emotional warmth.

In none of her paintings did Arndt ever master a group composition with similar confidence. She rarely ever attempted to show more than one or two sitters in her works. Moreover, while similarities exist in the painterly manner practised by Lambert and his student, contrasting pale ochre highlights with a dramatic use of deep brown and black shadows, the confident handling of the oil medium did not translate in Arndt's case into portraits of confident, extroverted sitters. This becomes strikingly apparent when Lambert's *The Dancer* (1911, fig.18), is compared to Arndt's *Elizabeth* (Cat. 17). While both sitters are portrayed in similar poses against a dark background, Arndt's subject appears cool, distant and disengaged from the viewer, isolated in her space, rather more similar to Romaine Brooks' models in *La Jaquette Rouge* (1910).²⁸¹ Of course, at this stage of her career, Arndt did not choose her own sitters. She depicted in the main professional models, who held their poses for a long time in front of the class. *Elizabeth*, the woman in the red cloak, most probably wore her cape to give students the opportunity to practise the painting of folds and drapery. Yet, a trend is establishing itself at this time within Arndt's portraiture which characterised it for the rest of her career. Her sitters, and especially her female subjects, are seen solitary and isolated, often confined to private spaces. Where they are turned towards the viewer, their gaze is either timid, as in *The Girl with the Rabbit* (Cat. 7) or at once challenging and distancing, as exemplified in *The Market Woman* (Cat. 3) or the *Pink Scarf* (Cat. 24). Even in *Woman in Blue* (Cat.27), where Arndt depicts a young woman in a festive gown holding a bouquet of flowers, her sitter remains withdrawn, gazing from her gloomy niche into a brighter picture space like an overlooked debutante at her first ball. Arndt's own insecurities as a painter thus appear to not only affect her style, but also reflect themselves in the attitudes conveyed by her sitters.²⁸² As will be shown, once Arndt returned to New Zealand, local preferences for landscape and still life painting discouraged her from exploring the figurative genre further and this kind of imagery became increasingly rare in her art practice.

²⁸¹ See A. D. Breeskin, *Romaine Brooks*, Washington D.C., 1986.

²⁸² Perhaps, if Mina Arndt had pursued her later career and in particular figure painting with the single-mindedness of British artist Gwen John (1876-1939), whose work features many solitary female sitters, she would have produced an oeuvre of the concentrated and even quality which characterises the achievement of John. See C. Langdale and D. F. Jenkins, *Gwen John: An Interior Life*, New York, 1986.

Arndt shared with Lambert a preference for female sitters, but she observes her female subjects from the vantage point of a fellow woman, who occupies similar social spaces. She does not share Lambert's position as a 'society painter', nor his male gaze with regards to women as subjects in Western art. Arndt's portraits, it seems, express some of her uncertainties and insecurities about her position as an aspiring painter and as a woman in early 20th-century society (with all the attendant expectations of her to become a wife, a mother, to be a private, domesticated individual), a tension she was to negotiate by various means throughout her career. While in London, she extended her repertoire of versatile and marketable forms of artistic expression, but her art never aspired to the drama and urban sophistication of her male teachers. Arndt felt more at home while working in Newlyn, where fisher folk and cottage interiors formed subjects closer to her understanding of her role as a woman artist at this early stage of her career.



Fig.: 12

Title: Frank Brangwyn: *Building the New Kensington Museum*

Collection: (Source: W. Shaw Sparrow (1919), p. 36)

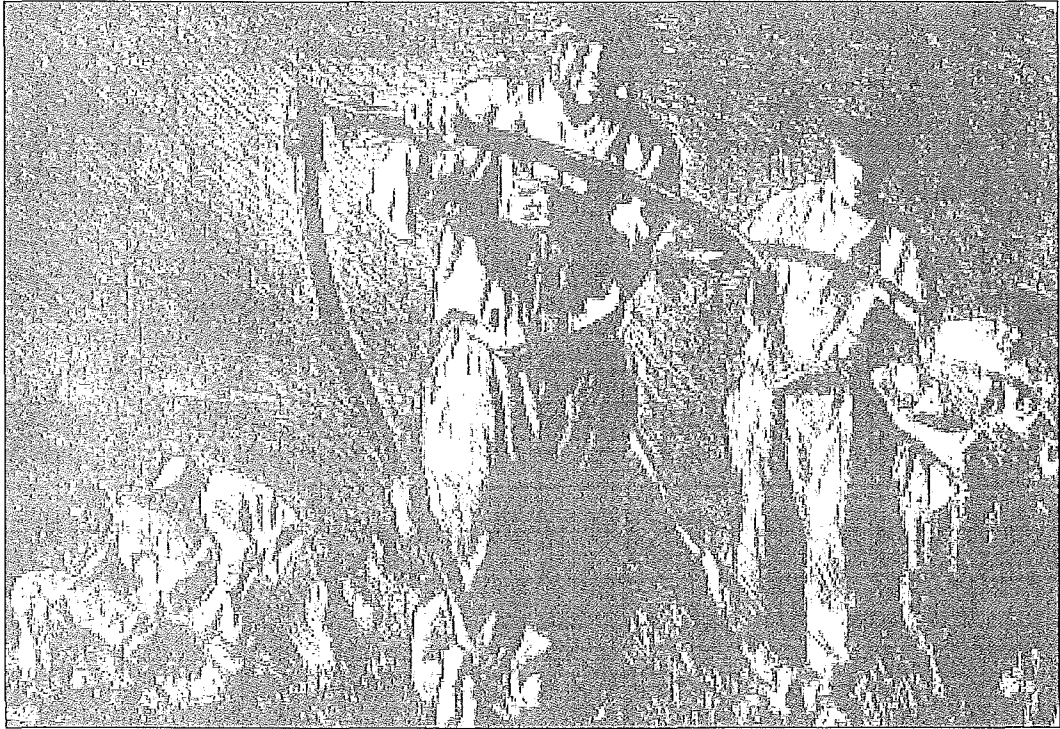


Fig.: 13

Title: Frank Brangwyn: *Mowers at Work*

Collection: (Source: M. Salaman, pl. 24)



Fig.: 14

Title: Frank Brangwyn: *The Storm*

Collection: (Source: M. Salaman, pl. 1)



Fig.: 15

Title: Frank Brangwyn: *Unloading at London Bridge*

Collection: (Source: C. Bunt, p. 15)



Fig.: 16

Title: *Mina with Art Students in London (c. 1907)*

Collection: priv. coll., Motueka



Fig.: 17

Title: George Lambert: *Mother and Sons*

Collection: priv. coll.



Fig.: 18

Title: George Lambert: *The Dancer*

Collection: priv. coll.

Chapter 4:

Mina Arndt and the Artists of Newlyn

During her nearly eight years in Europe, Mina Arndt spent several winters working with the Newlyn painters in Cornwall. A British equivalent to the artists' colonies in Brittany, the Cornish villages of Newlyn and St. Ives combined a pleasant climate, cheap living and plenty of picturesque subject matter.²⁸³ In contrast to the artists working at St. Ives, the larger and more cosmopolitan of the two colonies, the painters of Newlyn concentrated by and large on figure painting, which suited Mina's interests. While Stanhope Forbes has been acknowledged as an important influence on Arndt, little consideration has thus far been given to the professional example set by the prominent female Newlyn artists, namely Elizabeth Armstrong Forbes and Laura Knight. Also insufficiently investigated have been the wider effects of her ongoing contact with the Newlyn painters, which shaped not only Arndt's work patterns and choice of exhibition venues, but also continued to isolate her from the impact of more recent developments in modern art in Britain.

Mina first went to Cornwall in October of 1907, and she worked there again in the winter of 1908/09. By December of 1908, she had bought a camera and had begun to photograph Newlyn and its environs. Then (as is still the case today) Newlyn consisted in the main of many picturesque, grey stone cottages and houses, overlooking the harbour or nestled around the mouth of the river Coombe. These two distinct areas of the village were known as Newlyn Town and Street-an Nowan, connected by a narrow causeway which was passable only at low tide. At high tide, Newlyn Town could only be reached via a steep route known as Paul Hill. However, by 1908 the newly completed harbour road formed a permanent link between the two parts of the settlement. That year, Arndt took a studio near the harbour, as indicated by an inscription on one of her photographs of the fishing fleet in port (fig. 19):

This is on matt paper, a bit dark don't you think. It was such a lovely day, morning when I took it. I love Newlyn so. This is quite near the studio.²⁸⁴

Her sister Edith, who chaperoned Mina during her last three years in Europe, found Newlyn equally agreeable and the mild winter climate proved beneficial to her delicate

²⁸³ See T. Cross, *The Shining Sands: Artists in Newlyn and St. Ives, 1880-1930*, Cambridge, 1994; M. Jacobs, *The Good and Simple Life: Artist Colonies In Europe and America*, Oxford, 1985; M. Whybrow, *St. Ives 1883-1993: Portrait of an Art Colony*, Woodbridge, 1994 and B. Cogger Rezelman, *The Newlyn Artists and their Place in Late-Victorian Art*, PhD Thesis, Indiana University, 1984.

²⁸⁴ MAPM

health.²⁸⁵ Both enjoyed the company of fellow students and resident artists alike, who met over dinner parties, amateur theatricals, musical evenings and regular games of cricket.²⁸⁶ Mina and her sisters played an active part in these circles right from the start, and this social life, which centred on a supportive group of female friends, was one of the most enjoyable aspects of living and working in Newlyn. As Edith reported to her relatives in Wellington:

Ach: Leben is good, we seem to be going from better to best since we came here. Though I don't wish to brag Mrs Arndt, but your two daughters are very popular. Really its wonderful how people make our life pleasant.. each one is only too pleased to help the other, then everyone seems so pleased when one has a bit of luck... This week has been awfully gay, a card party,... & me coming home with the booby prize tucked under my arm.²⁸⁷

Mina and her sister socialised most often with other art students, such as Maudie Palmer,²⁸⁸ but also received invitations to the households of Harold and Laura Knight and Alfred Munnings.²⁸⁹ Thus Newlyn to Mina Arndt took on an air of being a home away from home and it is not surprising that, on returning from the continent and extensive exposure to other European trends in art, she chose to work in Newlyn and prepare her submissions to the Royal Academy and Paris Salon of 1913 and 1914.²⁹⁰ In total, she spent about two and half years of her eight years overseas there, as part of a new generation of artists and students who invigorated an artistic community which had been a feature of Newlyn for more than two decades.²⁹¹

The first of the Newlyn artists to live and work in the village for a while was Caroline Yates, who may have visited Newlyn on the advice of fellow Slade student Henry Scott

²⁸⁵ Letter from Edith Arndt to her family, 10 February 1913.

²⁸⁶ Laura Knight, *Oil Paint and Grease Paint*, London, 1936, p.170. The leading group of female students lived in an old Georgian house in the centre of Newlyn, amidst a garden with myrtle trees. The house was therefore known as the 'Myrtage': 'In it four girl students lived. They were the *élite*...Mrs. Shaw, Dod's mother, presided over the group...They talked literature, some wrote tales and poems, some did woodcuts, some painted. Some did all three. They dressed in tussore silk, browns and art colours...The Myrtage was the centre of aesthetic culture.'

²⁸⁷ Letter from Edith Arndt to her family, 10 February 1913.

²⁸⁸ Following the death of Elizabeth Armstrong Forbes in 1912, Maudie Palmer became the companion of her former teacher Stanhope Forbes and the two later married.

²⁸⁹ See note from Laura Knight to Mina Arndt, dated 22 January 1908, Olive Villa, Newlyn and an undated dinner invitation from Alfred Munnings, addressed to the Misses Arndt.

²⁹⁰ See letter by Mina Arndt to her family, 10 February 1913 (MAPM) See Appendix IV. Also, in her letter written on the same day, her sister Edith mentions that Arndt had secured a commission which would keep her in Newlyn until August that year. The '*Catalogue of Pictures Intended for the Royal Academy - Passmore Edwards Art Gallery, Newlyn*', March 1914, lists two works by Arndt. She possibly also spent the winter of 1911/12 in Newlyn; however, this could not be substantiated thus far.

²⁹¹ In fact, the West Cornwall Peninsula began to attract urban professional artists as early as the beginning of the 19th-century. Among the most prominent were J.M.W. Turner, Lionel Constable and Samuel Prout.

Tuke around 1880. In 1882, Walter Langley settled in Newlyn on a more permanent basis and in September 1883 there were ten artists living in Newlyn, among them T.C. Gotch, Norman Taylor and Frank Bramley.²⁹² Several other artists' colonies were founded in Britain at the time, like that of the 'Glasgow Boys', who spent much of their time painting rural life around the village of Cockburnspath. In Germany in the early 20th-century, artists congregated in villages such as Worpswede in the north or Murnau in the south. A colonial equivalent was the Heidelberg School in Australia, while James Nairn introduced the idea of a rural retreat to New Zealand art students with his outings to Pumpkin Cottage at Silverstream near Wellington. Given her first-hand knowledge of Nairn's painting, Arndt might have considered a sojourn to Scotland to study the work of the 'Glasgow Boys'. However, it was Stanhope Alexander Forbes and his School of Painting in Newlyn which apparently offered everything Arndt was looking for at the time: a popular teaching establishment, run by a respected artist who was well-known even in colonial art circles and whose artistic preferences and practices suited Arndt's own interests and formed the basis of an enduring student-teacher relationship.²⁹³

Stanhope Alexander Forbes arrived in Newlyn in 1884, having toured Cornwall while on the lookout for a suitable locality to live and work.²⁹⁴ A graduate of the Lambeth School of Art and the Royal Academy Schools, he had enjoyed early success as a portrait painter. But despite the early seal of approval bestowed on him by the powerful Royal Academy, Forbes had joined the many hundreds of young British artists who flocked to either Paris or Antwerp in the later 19th-century, where they sought to further their artistic training and often made their permanent homes on the continent.²⁹⁵ The *ateliers* of Paris especially

²⁹² C. Fox, *Stanhope Forbes and the Newlyn School*, Newton Abbot, 1993, p.17. As the economic life of the village revolved in the main around subsistence fishing, farming and the nearby tin mines and stone quarries, the villagers generally welcomed the arrival of the artists, who provided them with opportunity to improve their incomes by modelling.

²⁹³ Here it needs to be remembered that Forbes' *Preparations for the Market, Quimperlé* (1883) was purchased for the collection of the Dunedin Public Art Gallery in 1890. The fact that Mina owned a copy of the *Journal of Marie Bashkirtseff*, which makes much mention of Bastien-Lepage, an enduring influence on Forbes and other Newlyn painters, also serves as an indication of the degree of her awareness of artistic trends in Europe.

²⁹⁴ Forbes was born in Dublin, into a cultured, upper middle-class family, which pursued many literary and artistic interests. His uncle, James Staats Forbes, was the owner of a distinguished collection of paintings and ardent admirer of Joseph Israels and the Hague School artists. This also formed part of Arndt's cultural heritage in Wellington. Forbes first went to Dulwich College, where he learned to draw from casts and models under the tutelage of John Sparkes, later the head of the South Kensington School of Art and Design. Drawing from observation remained extremely important to Forbes, who was grateful for his training at Dulwich and employed similar methods of study with his own students at Newlyn during the early 1900s. Having attended the Lambeth School of Art, he was admitted to the Royal Academy Schools in the 1870s, where he was particularly influenced by the work of Millais, Leighton and Alma Tadema. Forbes exhibited altogether six portraits at the Royal Academy shows in the years of 1878, 1879 and 1880.

²⁹⁵ The phenomenon of 'Expatriatism', the exodus of young artists to other countries, as discussed in every standard publication on New Zealand or Australian art history, may have followed in part this wider, international trend.

offered young artists like Forbes an alternative to the conservative standards of British, late-Victorian art practice, embodied in 'paralysing degrees of finish' in drawing and 'slick surface smoothness'²⁹⁶ in painting. Furthermore, the Parisian studios liberated the young British artists from the relative isolation they experienced during their training in London. In Paris, they enjoyed the companionship of like-minded people who, as Norman Garstin wrote, devoted their entire day to the practice and discussion of art.²⁹⁷ Significantly though, the Newlyn artists-to-be on the whole took a fairly conservative approach in their choice of teachers. Some trained under Laurens and Julian, while others, Stanhope Forbes amongst them, enrolled with Léon Bonnat.²⁹⁸ Bonnat painted directly from nature, urging his students in their figurative studies to

make it as much like nature as possible in the first painting and in your second painting make it still more like.²⁹⁹

Forbes certainly repeated such views to his own students at Newlyn, recalling his own struggle in trying to come to terms with painting from the life model. Apart from working with Bonnat, Forbes also learnt a great deal from his visits to the Salon, but by 1881 he had become absorbed in the pursuit of *plein air* painting, and until 1883 spend many months each year working in Brittany. Forbes was not alone in this decision and his French paintings, such as *A Street in Brittany* (1881) or *Preparations for the Market, Quimperlé* (1883, fig. 20) recall closely the realism of Bastien-Lepage,³⁰⁰ much admired by British artists looking to France for fresh ideas. The success of *A Street in Brittany*, which was purchased by the Walker Art Gallery of Liverpool in 1882, persuaded Forbes to become a painter of such genre scenes, rather than settling into a career as a portraitist, when he decided to return to Britain in 1883.

²⁹⁶ A. S. Hartrick, *A Painter's Pilgrimage Through Fifty Years*, Cambridge, 1939, p. 145.

²⁹⁷ Fox (1993), p. 12.

²⁹⁸ Léon Bonnat (1833-1922), was born in Bayonne, but grew up in Spain, where he received his first art training in Madrid. Early influences were Ribera, Caravaggio and, following a sojourn to Italy 1858-60, the Bolognese school of painting. An ardent collector of drawings, his own sketches showed some similarity to the work of Couture. In his vigorous painterly style, using broad brush strokes and deep, saturated colours, Bonnat retained some of the influence of Ribera and also Rembrandt. Later in his career he became a hugely successful portraitist and also executed many murals in some of the most prominent public buildings of Paris.

²⁹⁹ Fox (1993), p. 13.

³⁰⁰ Jules Bastien-Lepage (1848-1884) was the son of farming parents. Born in the village of Damvillers in north-eastern France, he eventually moved to Paris, where he studied at the atelier of Cabanel. Wounded in the Franco-Prussian War, he did not achieve his first success at the Paris Salon until 1874, when he showed a portrait of his grandfather. Bypassed for the Prix de Rome in the following year, he returned to his home village and from then on began to concentrate on subjects of rural life, a naturalist painter of a specific rural location. The perceived objectivity of his portrayal of the peasant subjects at first aroused much hostility, as did the mythical content and symbolism he later introduced into his pictures in an effort to extend his range of subject matter. While visiting Britain in 1882 he also produced a few significant paintings of London. By that time, he had already attracted international attention for his style, described by Zola as 'Impressionism sweetened into popularity'. For a detailed assessment of Bastien-Lepage's influence on British and Scottish painters in particular, see K. McConkey, (1995).

Having enjoyed the cheap living and ready availability of picturesque scenes and life models in Brittany, Forbes was on the lookout for a similar location in his homeland when he visited Cornwall for the first time. In the end he decided to settle in Newlyn, as it struck him to be 'a sort of Concarneau...the haunt of a great many painters.'³⁰¹ While he knew some of them personally, others, such as Langley or Gotch, impressed him by their reputation. More painters continued to arrive and in September 1884, the local newspaper *The Cornishman* stated that twenty seven artist were living in Newlyn, a social subgroup, whose work habits made them a conspicuous feature of local life. As Stanhope Forbes recalled

Artists are common enough objects by the seaside; but it was scarcely so usual to see the painter not merely engaged upon a small sketch or panel, but with a large canvas securely fastened to some convenient boulder, absorbed in the very work with which he hoped to win fame in the ensuing spring; perhaps even the model posing in full view of the entire populace, the portrait being executed with a publicity calculated to un-nerve even our practised brother of the pavement.³⁰²

While firm friendships developed among the artists residing in the village, the 'brotherhood of the pavement' alluded to by Forbes was by no means a coherent social or professional group. There were frequent departures, many of the artists leaving Cornwall for the summer and Christmas holidays, as well as regular trips to London for the Royal Academy shows and other important exhibitions. Furthermore, sales of work produced in Newlyn were slow at first and many artists contemplated leaving for economic reasons. When the work of the Newlyn colony became more popular, following Forbes' success at the Royal Academy with *Fish Sale on a Cornish Beach* (1885) and the purchase 'for the nation' by the Chantrey bequest of Bramley's *A Hopeless Dawn* (1888), this success acknowledged and privileged the painters of the colony as Britain's 'new moderns'. Rather paradoxically, their modern art practice consisted of nostalgic, *plein air* renditions of traditional village life, focusing on the activities of the 'always paintable population'³⁰³ in general, and the 'heroic' fishermen, labourers and craftsmen in particular. While Forbes, as mentioned earlier, began to renovate the look of his paintings from about 1900 onwards, he remained committed to the colony and his local subjects. It was this traditional subject matter, combined with the Newlyn painters' adherence to traditional standards of draughtsmanship, which made their 'modernism' palatable and respectable not only in the eyes of their British audiences but also to colonial newcomers like Arndt who were unfamiliar with more

³⁰¹ Stanhope Forbes in a letter to his mother, as quoted in Fox (1993), p.18.

³⁰² Stanhope Forbes, writing for the *Cornish Magazine* in 1898, as quoted in Denys Val Baker, *Britain's Art Colony by the Sea*, London, 1959, p. 28.

³⁰³ A. Meynell, Newlyn, in *The Art Journal*, April 1889, p. 98.

recent concepts of modern French art practice.

Forbes became the acknowledged leader of the Newlyn colony,³⁰⁴ and he eventually established a good rapport with the villagers themselves. While at first the local Primitive Methodists looked upon the artists' activities, particularly their habit of working on a Sunday, with considerable suspicion and disapproval, the villagers also acknowledged the beneficial financial effect the colony's presence had on their community. Not only did the artists pay for a range of domestic requirements, they also, as mentioned earlier, employed a number of local people as models on a semi-professional basis. Artists, models and villagers met on a regular basis at the annual private view of paintings intended for exhibition at the Royal Academy, usually in March, just before the works in question were dispatched to London. Initially these shows would be held in the manner of a village fair, with the paintings set up in a number of studios, while the large number of spectators would be entertained and looked after in picnic fashion out of doors. In 1895, however, with the opening of the Passmore Edwards Gallery near the Newlyn foreshore, these private views took on a much more formal air. The selection and mounting of the annual shows were organised by the Newlyn Society of Artists, formed in 1895. At the time, the colony began to lose some its fashionable appeal for British painters, a fact of which colonial artists were perhaps unaware. For those who remained in Newlyn, Forbes' private School of Painting, founded in 1899, became a second important institution connecting their social and professional lives, besides the Art Gallery and its associated Art Society. The school attracted a whole new generation of artists from both Britain and overseas, thus compensating for the dwindling numbers of resident artists in the area.

New Zealand art students not only travelled to Newlyn because of the favourable living conditions the village had to offer. Forbes' work had been frequently shown in New Zealand, was bought for Otago's permanent collection, and was inspired by artistic preferences similar to those of Nairn and Nerli, the most progressive and influential art teachers to work in New Zealand around the turn of the century. Moreover, Forbes worked at the centre of an artists' colony, a concept which many colonial students then associated with modern continental, namely French, art practices. While reminiscent of the tranquility of many colonial settlements, the Newlyn school also promised to deliver artistic training equal to any professional studio in London, catering for the ambitious student 'who wishes to learn how seriously to study painting and drawing according to the recent developments in English art.'³⁰⁵ The school therefore appealed to those

³⁰⁴ Fox (1993), p. 19.

³⁰⁵ *The Art Journal*, 1899, p. 320.

students previously educated in a specifically British tradition of art, but who wished to move beyond the restrictions of the Victorian academic style, of which so many examples were displayed and bought by the New Zealand art societies from the 1870s onwards. Both Frances Hodgkins and Dorothy K. Richmond worked in Newlyn for a while, the latter attending Forbes' classes in 1902. Other New Zealand expatriates attracted to Cornwall were Margaret Stoddart and fellow Canterbury artist Eleanor Hughes, the latter eventually settling in Cornwall on a permanent basis.³⁰⁶ Had Arndt entertained any doubts as to her choice of teacher, the presence of fellow New Zealanders surely served to affirm her decision to study in Newlyn, rather than more conservative British schools. Furthermore, the method of teaching employed by the Forbes allowed for colonial students like Arndt to be able to build on their previous experiences.

The Forbes' school was housed in three wooden studios, in an area near the centre of Newlyn called 'The Meadows' and

set in a large wild garden on the hill slope, all tucked in with fishermen's cottages. Over cement-patched roofs and chimney-pots the harbour and the bay were seen.³⁰⁷

The smallest studio was used by the beginners' classes in drawing from the plaster cast, using 'bits of charcoal and lumps of crumbling bread.'³⁰⁸ The midsize studio was set aside for drawing lessons from the nude model, while the third and largest hut accommodated the students who painted and drew from the life model. It is most likely that Arndt began working in the so called head-room, which was a

lofty studio, divided in the middle by a great curtain of sombre and ambiguous material. There was a 'throne' or platform for a model on each side of the curtain, so that the room contained actually two classes working together. In each class a senior student acted as general supervisor, responsible for seeing that the models rested at proper intervals and also for the settlement of any small matters of discipline and accommodation which might come to his

³⁰⁶ Margaret Stoddart first arrived in Cornwall/ St. Ives in 1899, and regularly exhibited with the St. Ives artists until 1906. In January 1907, on her return from Europe, she passed through Wellington and it is possible that Arndt heard of her experiences in Cornwall then. Eleanor Hughes, née Waymouth (1882-1959) was born in Christchurch and is thought to have studied with C.N. Worsley from 1901 to 1903. In 1904 she went to England where she studied with Stanhope Forbes in Newlyn in 1907. Following her marriage to British artist R. M. Hughes, she lived in Lamorna near Penzance in 1911 and, after a year spent in London in 1914, settled in the Cornish village of St. Buryan. She regularly exhibited with the Newlyn painters at the Passmore Edwards Gallery, showing alongside Mina Arndt in March 1914, and was a regular contributor to the Royal Academy. In 1933 she was elected a member of the Royal Institute of Painters in Watercolours, but also did some etching. Although resident in Britain, she continued to exhibit in New Zealand where her work was repeatedly reproduced in *Art in New Zealand*.

³⁰⁷ Knight, p. 161.

³⁰⁸ C. Vulliamy, *Calico Pie*, London, 1940, p. 101.

notice. This big studio was full of a powerful smell of turpentine, of paint and oil, with a hint of shellac and of methylated spirit: it was a smell which had been there ever since the school began... There was also... upon the floor, a mess of dessicated bread-crumbs and of powdery charcoal. Below the studio, where the slope of the hill descended abruptly, there was a shop, open once or twice a week, in which you could buy your material. In summer time a model was frequently posed out in the open, outside the upper door of the head room on a grassy plateau under the shade of trees.³⁰⁹

The models themselves, local people of varying ages, kept their distance and especially the older villagers saw the students as a 'godless, but profitable nuisance.'³¹⁰ The righteous locals would not, however, tolerate sketching out of doors on Sundays and were especially disapproving of the exposure of the nude body, especially the female body, in the life classes. According to Vulliamy, the life models, most of whom came from London to work in Newlyn, were almost all female and almost all Italian. Despite the fact that they were respectable professionals, they were regarded by the more conservative villagers as being in the same social category as prostitutes. Not surprisingly, it was difficult for them to find accommodation locally, and it is not clear if they found much moral or practical support from local artists. The life classes themselves, possibly because of the local unease about the practice, were kept

rigidly conventional... The model undressed in a sort of cabin at the end of the studio. She walked up to her platform in a flowered kimono which fell from her body in a single unhurried movement, and she then took up her prescribed position, whether sitting or standing, with all the precision and indifference of any other professional. In the resting intervals the model draped her self again, from her throat to her ankles, in her kimono. She generally sat on the edge of the platform, occasionally smoking a cigarette. Her conversation (if she had any) was about the affairs of other models and other schools, or she might indulge in a little harmless gossip about the students, or tell us the films to be seen in Penzance.³¹¹

Similar routines would have been adhered to in all the reputable art schools of the day, Forbes' approach differing only in his dedication to working from the model out of doors whenever possible. He also expected his students to work hard and attend classes each working day, morning and afternoon. By his own admission, Vulliamy did not belong to

³⁰⁹ Ibid.

³¹⁰ Ibid., p. 99.

³¹¹ Ibid., p. 103.

the serious students or promising younger artists³¹² but joined a group of students who enjoyed the social freedom of their student days more than their involvement with art . But even the dedicated pupils of Forbes he recognised to be members of a

privileged and amusing society...It was impossible for anyone to join the school unless he or she had the necessary amount of money and leisure. In addition to the young people (who were of course the real students) there was always a stabilising proportion of elderly ladies, retired colonels and even a few odds and ends of aristocracy.³¹³

Amidst this wide variety of students of differing ages, Forbes aimed to foster even the smallest of talents. As long-standing advocates of *plein airism* in Britain, both he and his wife Elizabeth Armstrong Forbes emphasised the importance of fidelity to nature in painting and urged their students towards simplicity in style, devoid of any painterly 'tricks'.³¹⁴ However, as described in Mrs Lionel Birch's account of their lives, Elizabeth and Stanhope Forbes refrained from dogmatically imposing their own approach onto their students, and instead encouraged them, once they had understood the basics, to experiment towards the development of a style of their own. To that end, a so called 'crit' session was held on every Saturday during term. Stanhope Forbes, nicknamed 'The Professor', then discussed each of his students' work, as it appeared on the sketches hung up on the studio wall. These were for the most part unsigned, to ensure impartiality. The students sat in a semicircle around Forbes, who had the reputation of being a frank, sometimes merciless critic of his students' work. Forbes, at that stage of his career, spoke from a position of authority, underpinned by his continued success at the Royal Academy, of which he had become a member in 1892.³¹⁵ Throughout his career he endeavoured to combine in his paintings an excellent standard of draughtsmanship with a careful study of light effects and tonal relationships. Thus, under Forbes' tutelage, Mina Arndt remained influenced by an understanding of art which was firmly rooted in moderate 19th-century practices and shaped the style and subject matter of much of her own work.

Forbes maintained a lifelong commitment to portraiture, which also formed a significant

³¹² The most prominent younger artists to work in Newlyn before WW1 were Dod Procter, née Shaw (1892-1972) and Ernest Procter (1886-1935), Gertrude (Gert) Harvey, née Bodinar (c.1886-1966) Harold Harvey (1874-1941) and Charles Walter Simpson (1885-1971). For more detailed information on these and other Newlyn artists of the second generation, see C. Fox, *Painting in Newlyn 1900-1930*, Penzance, 1985, and C. Fox and F. Greenacre, *Painting in Newlyn, 1880-1930*, London, 1985.

³¹³ Vuillamy, p.100.

³¹⁴ Mrs. Lionel Birch, *Stanhope Forbes and Elizabeth Stanhope Forbes*, London, 1909, p.113.

³¹⁵ By 1904, owing to his success at the Royal Academy, Forbes was able to afford a large house at Higher Faugan, overlooking Mounts Bay.

and arguably the most successful aspect of Arndt's entire oeuvre. In Forbes' teaching studio, she developed the assured drawing technique, which characterise her highly finished and richly toned charcoal portraits. *Old Man's Head* (Cat. 140) or *The Old Lady* (Cat. 148) are early examples of the kind of charcoal portraiture Arndt produced throughout the remainder of her career, later examples being *Mr. Boyes* (Cat. 190) or *Study of a Head* (Cat. 192). Similar work (as in *For Myles had Grown a Man, with a Man's Thought's and Desires*, c.1904, fig. 21) also appears in the oeuvre of Elizabeth Armstrong Forbes (1859-1912). She assisted her husband in the teaching studios, and must therefore rate as a likely influence on the young colonial art student. Moreover, she was a female colonial art student herself when she first arrived in Cornwall and many aspects of her training, artistic interests and career patterns mirror the experiences of Mina Arndt.

Canadian born Elizabeth Armstrong, who spent much of her childhood in London, received her first art training at the South Kensington Art School, extending her training with frequent visits to the museums and galleries. In 1878, she returned to Canada, but soon moved to New York, where she studied with the Art Students' League for three years. Her teachers there were mostly young, European trained artists, who introduced her to the modern concept of *plein air* painting. Thus her early admiration for the Pre-Raphaelites was soon superceded by a deeply felt respect for the work of French realists Millet and Bastien-Lepage. However, following the advice of one of her favourite teachers, William Chase, she decided to further her art training not in Paris, but in Munich. Apparently, being both a woman and a foreigner proved to be a severe disadvantage during her five months stay in Bavaria, a time she recalled as a period 'for the most part of depression and discouragement'.³¹⁶

In 1882, her mother chaperoned Elizabeth Armstrong to Brittany, where she joined a cosmopolitan group of artists working in Pont Aven. Encouraged by her new friends, she began to exhibit her work there and also sent some of her small watercolours to the Royal Institute in London, to much critical acclaim. Supported by her uncle, Armstrong lived in London for the next few years, further developing her skills as an etcher and painter. She exhibited regularly at the Grosvenor Gallery, the Royal Institute and Suffolk Street. In 1885 she moved with her mother to Newlyn, where she first met Stanhope Forbes. Until their marriage in 1889, however, Elizabeth Armstrong continued to spend much time in London and also in St. Ives. She was a dedicated and hard working artist, but also found the time to participate in various social activities, such as performing with

³¹⁶ E. Armstrong Forbes, quoted in Birch, p. 61.

the local dramatic society.

Despite her marriage and the birth of her only son Alec in 1893, Armstrong Forbes continued to exhibit at the Royal Academy (where she was represented from 1883 onwards), the Grosvenor Gallery, the Society of British Artists and the New English Art Club, as well as in Glasgow, Birmingham and even at the Chicago Exposition. She also wrote poetry and articles, and in 1907 edited a magazine put out by the Newlyn artists, entitled *The Paperchase*. Although working closely alongside her husband and sharing many of his artistic preferences, Elizabeth Armstrong Forbes retained independent ideas about art. To the great consternation of Stanhope Forbes, she maintained her friendship with Whistler and Walter and Bernard Sickert.

To any female art student new to Newlyn Elizabeth Armstrong Forbes, then, was a compelling role model, and an outstanding member of the female community, which Arndt valued not only in Cornwall, but also later on in Berlin. Elizabeth Armstrong Forbes was an accomplished painter and author, member of a number of highly respected artists' organisations and a regular exhibitor at some of the most prestigious venues of the time. She was also a wife and mother and a well liked member of the local community. She had apparently made a success out of her life, both professionally and privately, aided by the support of her husband and a stimulating community of artist friends. But, unlike her male counterparts, moral standards governing the lives of middle-class women continued to curtail Forbes' professional activities and those of other female artists around her. Like Caroline Yates (later Gotch) and Laura Knight she had to negotiate 'the contradictions between the protocols of respectable femininity and the colony's definitions of modernity as outdoor painting on the beach, quayside and streets.'³¹⁷ Rules of propriety encouraged Elizabeth Armstrong Forbes to use a movable hut for her outdoor work (when outside the vicinity of her home or not accompanied by her husband as on their painting holidays) and her habitual subject matters were not the close-up views of life down at the beach or the wharf which her husband produced, but cottage interiors, some street scenes in Newlyn, landscapes with figures, and children at work.

Elizabeth Armstrong Forbes portrayed the life of children throughout her career, expressing in countless images her delight in the daily activities of her small models. Her genre painting thus differed in emotional content from the painstakingly observed, but detached images of village life produced by her husband. It was in Brittany that she

³¹⁷ Cherry (1993), p.184.

decided to take up the subject of children:

I soon realised that I lacked the power to give expression to what moved me so greatly in its larger aspects, and I turned to the quaint child-life of the place which delighted me.³¹⁸

Her own son often modelled for his mother and it was to Alec that she dedicated an illustrated book, *King Arthur's Wood*, published in 1904.³¹⁹ When she submitted a selection of the illustrations for the book to the Royal Watercolour Society in 1899, she was immediately elected an Associate of the Society. The book itself, once published, drew much critical enthusiasm for its skillful evocation of the magical world of childhood wonders. Forbes himself praised his wife's talents, in a critical language commonly applied to the work of women artists at the time, describing the illustrations as charming and beautiful paintings which combine such lovely imaginative qualities with almost unrivalled technical skill and artistic feeling.³²⁰

Elizabeth Forbes' preferred subject matter illustrates how she, and many female artists of her time, negotiated social expectations placed on her as a wife and mother with her artistic persona. Only rarely does the modern, professional woman, (arguably the more problematic aspect of her own existence) appear as her motif. In *School is Out* (1889, fig. 22), a scene of more modern, middle-class life, she depicts a female teacher at work, but again, this image of modern womanhood is simultaneously a scene from the everyday life of children, the stereotypical subject matter of female artists at the time. Nevertheless, *School is Out* contrasts with the more common imagery of women produced by the Newlyn painters. These were pictures of female fishing folk occupying the margins of their men's lives, women in domestic situations, or leisured women at rest, as in Frank Bramley's *Domino* (1886). Similarly, Armstrong Forbes herself most often portrayed women and girls as passive and pensive, as in *A Fairy Story* (1896) or *Jean, Jeanne and Jeanette* (c.1882), while her images of manual labour and adventure concentrate on men and boys, as for example in her charcoal study *For Myles had Grown a Man...* and other images of her book, *King Arthur's Wood*.

The subject of children also featured strongly in Armstrong Forbes' shortlived career as an etcher. Before she settled in Newlyn, several of Elizabeth Armstrong Forbes' prints, produced during a stay with the Art Students' League in Zandvoort, Holland, were

³¹⁸ E. Armstrong Forbes, quoted in Birch, p. 63.

³¹⁹ Fox (1993), p. 49: The storyline of the book combines a tale about contemporary country life with legends of the great knights. In it, a little boy named Myles, again modelled on Alec, is transformed into a knight and sets out to rescue the Lady of the Castle Perilous.

³²⁰ Quoted in *ibid.*, p. 49.

exhibited at the Royal Academy and resulted in her admission to the Royal Society of Painter Etchers. Discussing one of these etchings, entitled *The Dutch Girl* (1884), *The Studio* asserted that

[To] find one to measure it against one must turn to one of Whistler's Venice etchings...The pleasure derived from refined work with repressed emotion is always keen, and when, as in this etching, one's first enjoyment is amply reinforced by more minute study, you feel tempted to praise it unreservedly, for the cumulative effect is not so often met with that it can be disregarded.³²¹

Showing such early promise, her decision to abandon etching following her marriage to Stanhope Forbes (perhaps because of technical problems she encountered in Newlyn or perhaps she was persuaded by her husband to do so) therefore represents a significant compromise of her career.³²² The social expectations constricting the art practice of Elizabeth Armstrong Forbes in many ways foreshadowed developments affecting Mina Arndt's later career. Similarly, the experiences of Armstrong Forbes reflect the kind of restrictions Arndt had already encountered herself as a young female art student. In New Zealand, for example, access to life drawing classes had been difficult and in Europe, she could not study or travel anywhere unless chaperoned by a family member.

Laura Knight, an energetic and ambitious newcomer to Newlyn and almost twenty years younger than Armstrong Forbes, shared these experiences. Knight, together with her artist husband Harold, arrived in Newlyn in 1907 and Arndt was soon part of their extensive social circle. On these occasions, Arndt had the opportunity to discuss not only painting as a career for women, but could also study informally the work of Laura Knight at first hand. Laura Knight's life up to this point resembled something of an inspiring rags-to-riches story, but, in the context of this study, also serves as a poignant reminder of the professional obstacles encountered by British women artists of Arndt's generation and the strategies they developed to try and overcome these.

Laura Knight (1877-1972) née Johnson, was born in Derbyshire, and like Mina Arndt was the youngest of three sisters. Her father had abandoned the family before Laura was born and her mother moved to Nottingham to live with relatives. There she paid for the education of her three daughters by giving drawing and painting classes at a local school. Thus, in Laura Knight's case, it was an artist-parent (a common pre-requisite in the formation of a female artist) who encouraged Laura from an early age to become a

³²¹ Quoted in Fox (1993), p. 45.

³²² Cherry (1993), p. 184.

painter and even sent her to live with an aunt in Paris, where she attended art school when only 12 years old. In 1890 she returned to England. Her mother had begun to support the family as a private art teacher and by the sale of some of her own paintings, but eventually was taken ill. Laura, aged only fourteen at the time, enrolled at the Nottingham School of Art, helped to look after her ailing mother and took over some of her classes. Despite these demanding obligations, she remained dedicated to her art, but suffered from the criticism of her fellow, predominately male, students, who took issue with her style as being not feminine enough:

I made my lines much too heavy; they said, 'Your work is strong, like a man's.' 'Why don't you develop your feminine side?'...Time after time I was called into the head master's room to be talked to seriously. Tears came when I got to the door; I could not do what they wanted-apparently I possessed no womanly refinement.³²³

Following the death of her mother and her grandmother, Laura and her sister moved into private lodgings, supported in part by an uncle. Her studies at art school suffered; separate Life studios had been built and Laura, resolved to compete in a male dominated art world, now had to work with the other women, who, in her opinion, lacked the dedication of the men students. Having no access to a nude model also pressed on her, as it was her conviction that, had she been a boy, her aunt surely would have sent her to Paris for further training.

As it was, Laura was understood to have informally become engaged to another student Harold Knight, whom she had met at the Nottingham School of Art before her mother's death. Her pending marriage would therefore make any further investment into her education unnecessary. The prizes she was awarded for her studies from the antique at the Kensington School of Art meant little to her, as she knew that she was held back in her development and recognition as an artist by her lack of access to a nude life model.³²⁴ Harold, however, continued to be supportive of her professional ambitions, although times continued to be hard for them for a number of years. Having left art school, Laura supplemented her income with a number of early portrait commissions and in 1896 began to compose some of her own pictures. At the recommendation of a former art master, Laura, accompanied by her sister, went to Staithes, a Yorkshire fishing village, where she set up a studio near the quay. Village life at last offered an escape from the restrictions and complications of city life and endless opportunities for genre- and landscape painting. As Knight explained in her autobiography:

It was there I found myself and what I might do. The life and place were what I

³²³ Knight, p. 47.

³²⁴ Ibid., p. 64.

had yearned for - the freedom, the austerity, the savagery, the wildness. I loved it passionately, overwhelmingly. I loved the cold and the northerly storms when no covering would protect you. I loved the strange race of people who lived there, whose stern almost forbidding exterior formed such a contrast to the warmth and richness of their natures. It bordered on theatrical. There was every range of colour and intensity of light and dark, from the shadowy crowded alleyway to the spread of the sea. A poet should have written his sagas there. Why did no painter paint it as it was then? Life ranged from the highest pitch of spiritual ecstasy to the depths of sordid tragedy.³²⁵

Like the founders of the Cornish art colonies, Knight had wanted to record rural life in England, before it vanished and was tamed by the corrupting influences of industrialisation. Laura and her sister continued to live in Yorkshire for a number of years, making a small income from the sale of Laura's sketches. In 1903, Laura married Harold Knight, embarking on the kind of companionable, mutually supportive relationship which could greatly facilitate the career of a woman artist, especially through study abroad. Thus Laura and Harold Knight repeatedly travelled to Holland, where both of them became absorbed in the study of the compositional and painterly techniques of Dutch masters like Rembrandt, Vermeer and Franz Hals. Although such restrained and intensely theoretical work did not agree with Laura Knight, who wanted to shake free of such an analytical approach to art, she never regretted 'the intense study and serious and reverent attitude towards the world's masterpieces,'³²⁶ and thus acknowledged, and perhaps further internalized, patriarchal traditions in art.

By 1907, the Knights decided to move from Staithes to Cornwall, where they were promised it would be warmer and where they would be able to once again enjoy the important companionship of like-minded artists, as they had done in Holland. At first Laura Knight was unimpressed with her new home and its inhabitants, judging both as not picturesque, not ideal enough:

Newlyn itself was at first a disappointment and Cornwall seemed so pale. After Staithes' cobbled streets the mud was distressing in the harbour roads. The women were not so magnificently upright, they carried no weights on their heads nor did they work among the fishing. In some cases a man's cap was fastened on to an untidy pile of hair with a long hat-pin. Slippers slopped from house to house. In Staithes all the women were stoutly booted.³²⁷

Within months of their arrival, however, the Knights, introduced into the artistic community by the Forbes, felt at home and relaxed in Newlyn, especially when their

³²⁵ Ibid., p. 75.

³²⁶ Ibid., p. 142.

³²⁷ Ibid., p. 162.

works began to sell and they no longer suffered from financial hardship.

Following her arrival in Newlyn, Laura Knight set up in a large, modestly furnished studio, she called 'Primrose Court'. In the ensuing years she worked towards a style she labelled 'direct painting' in bright and exuberant colours. In 1909, this gave her success with *The Beach* (fig. 23) at the Royal Academy. Laura Knight, like Elizabeth Forbes, had developed children, girls, and women at leisure as her major motifs, although an interesting difference between the work of both artists is the use of the nude female model. Knight, the younger of the two, and arguably more determined to align her art practice with that of her male contemporaries, posed nude female models in idyllic beach scenes equivalent to Henry Tuke's repeated depictions of naked boys swimming.

Mina Arndt herself incorporated aspects of both women's work into her own art practice, linking it back to Newlyn and the presence of the local people (as observed in the work of other painters around her) but also allowed other, rather more urban artistic influences to surface in her work. Like Armstrong Forbes and Knight, Mina Arndt focused on women and children in her Newlyn works, but in a palette more restrained than that employed by the other women and more reminiscent of Stanhope Forbes' early Newlyn works. As mentioned earlier, under the initial tuition of the Forbes, Arndt focused on portraiture and developed a confident drawing style. By 1913, having returned to Newlyn as a more experienced student, she began producing oil paintings for exhibition, one of her more ambitious paintings of that year being *Tired* (Cat. 9). It depicts a woman, alone in the gloomy half light of a cottage living room, resting her head on the table. No narrative is implied, other than that of a woman exhausted after a day's work. The mood of the image is matched by Arndt's use of a sombre, subdued palette, relieved by only a few coloured accents: the green of a figurine on the mantelpiece, the red glow in the fireplace. More sombre still is *Homewards* (Cat. 11), introducing a motif Arndt returned to a number of times.

Reminiscent of Walter Langley's *Fishwives* (fig. 24), *Homewards* depicts a local woman, carrying a basket on her back. She appears in a vaguely sketched, unidentifiable environment. Again Arndt's work focuses on individual expression, on weariness and isolation. Newlyn as a picturesque setting for her model, which Armstrong Forbes or Knight and most certainly Forbes himself would have introduced, was of no interest to Arndt. Her aim was to accentuate certain aspects of the human condition, rather than recording a vanishing lifestyle in an illustrative fashion. The simplified, sombre-coloured background does not provide an authentic setting, but serves to support the emotional

impact of the figure's habitus and expression. Here an enduring trend in Arndt's painting is continued, namely her tendency to show solitary figures emanating a sense of isolation and even melancholy. *Memories* (Cat. 12) and *The Patchwork Quilt* (Cat. 13) are single portraits of the same older woman. In *Memories*, she is seen holding a large book on her lap; in the latter image she is sewing a patchwork quilt. Again the sitter, most likely a model Arndt had engaged in Newlyn, is placed in non-specific setting, isolated, detached, not engaging with the viewer or the painter in any sense. The mood is pensive, but not poetic or romantic as in Armstrong Forbes' many images of women posing wistfully outdoors, as for example in *The Leaf* (undated, fig. 25). Indeed, both *Memories* and *The Patchwork Quilt*, point to Arndt's familiarity with the work of Norman Garstin (1847-1926),³²⁸ who, in the early 1900s, had been the teacher of Dorothy K. Richmond.

Garstin was still exhibiting in Newlyn in the 1910s,³²⁹ and had developed a particular reputation for his landscapes. But, besides landscapes, Garstin also produced simple and evocative studies of women and interiors, such as *A Woman Reading a Newspaper* (1891, fig. 26) and *Her Signal* (1892), the latter implying the kind of sentimental narrative which he disliked, but which helped sales.³³⁰ Arndt herself shirked this sort of sentimental appeal, but the restrained palette and broad brushwork Garstin employed in *A Woman Reading a Newspaper* anticipates the painterly treatment Arndt used for her later renditions of a similar subject matter in both *Memories* and *The Patchwork Quilt*.

At this time, Arndt produced few studies of groups of figures, a rare example being *Seawards* (Cat. 16, also known as *Awaiting the Return, Cornwall*). Here, Arndt depicts a woman and three children by a shoreline. The setting is ambiguous, the composition of the picture awkward. However, Arndt introduces for the first time the image of children into her Cornish works, in a scene reminiscent of earlier paintings by Armstrong Forbes and, more particularly, Laura Knight's *The Beach*. In *Seawards*, a decidedly lighter palette than usual is used, but the figure of the adult woman looking out to sea removes her work from the carefree atmosphere of Knight's Cornish summer holiday scene and alludes to more melancholic aspects of life. While Arndt loved Newlyn as a place to live and work, the specificities of the location, its climate, its bright light and picturesque

³²⁸ Garstin, who was born in Ireland, trained in Paris and was an admirer of Bastien Lepage, Whistler, Manet and sympathetic to the ideas of the Impressionists. Today, he is best known for *The Rain it Raineth Every Day* (1889), a picture of the Penzance foreshore which is strongly reminiscent in composition of Degas' Parisian streetscenes.

³²⁹ See *The Cornishman*, 21 March 1914, unpaginated, and *Catalogue of Paintings Intended for the Royal Academy - Passmore Edwards Gallery, Newlyn*, 1914.

³³⁰ See Fox and Greenacre, pp. 79-81 and McConkey (1995), p.129.

scenery did not invade or alter the mood of her paintings, indicating that she never subscribed to the practice of *plein air* painting herself. Arndt's focus remained firmly on the human figure and its expressive qualities. To that end, she also produced a number of portrait studies of children and, more specifically, of a small girl, apparently named Annie.³³¹ Again Arndt does not engage in general observations of children, or children at play, according to Edwardian conventions.³³² Instead she treats her young sitter like her adult models, as an individual, and tries to convey some of the specific character of the small person in front of her, as in the case of *Annie* (Cat. 149) *Annie on the Rocks* (Cat. 150) and *Greedy Annie* (Cat. 144), a confident, relaxed young girl, who has little difficulty in posing for an artist.

While her subject matter links Arndt with artists like Armstrong Forbes and Knight, her focus on the individual expression, mood or character of single sitters aligns her more closely with painters of her own generation, such as Ruth Simpson, née Alison (1889-1964) or even Dod Procter - both were studying and exhibiting in Newlyn alongside her.³³³ These artists belonged to the younger generation of Newlyn painters who were later credited with moving British art in a new direction, beyond Stanhope Forbes' *plein air*, realist principles. They were a

sincere band of pioneers, who strive to express man's [sic] deepest feelings in a new way both in regard to combinations of colour and subject-matter. They have fought an amazingly successful fight against the pretty-pretty and the conventionally beautiful... If art has been saved in England it is mainly due to the stupendous battle waged by the men and women of Newlyn, who have stuck to their principles and carried them into action in spite of ridicule, in spite of penury, in spite of envenomed animosity³³⁴

The subsequent career of Procter, in particular, highlights how Arndt's choice of Newlyn as a long-term place to work, that is to say her failure to study in Paris, continued to isolate her from more modern tendencies in contemporary European art. Procter, who had enrolled at the Forbes' School in 1907, the same year that Arndt arrived, was not only an extremely popular member of the student community there, she was also

³³¹ There is no documentation to suggest that Annie was indeed the real name of this young girl.

³³² For Edwardian views on children and childhood, see J. Beckett & D. Cherry (eds), *The Edwardian Era*, London, 1987. Also discussing the depiction of children in Western art are A. Higonnet, *Pictures of Innocence*, London, 1998, and J. Croddley & S. Holdsworth, *Innocence and Experience: Images of Children in British Art from 1600 to the Present*, Manchester, 1992.

³³³ See Fox and Greenacre, pp. 87-89, and pp. 91-93 for a discussion of the careers of Ruth Simpson and Dod Procter. See also *Catalogue of Paintings Intended for the Royal Academy -Passmore Edwards Gallery, Newlyn*, 1914, which lists Dod Procter as exhibiting alongside Arndt. During her latter stays in Newlyn, Arndt could have also made the acquaintance of Augustus John (1878-1961), as suggested by her obituary and some unsourced papers in the Manoy family collection. John spent some time in Cornwall in 1913. On that occasion he painted Lamorna Birch's daughter Mornie, a portrait reminiscent of Arndt's *Plaits* (Cat. 182)

³³⁴ Mais, p.78 -79.

considered by some to be one of the most talented painters ever to emerge from the school. Significantly, in 1910, accompanied by her mother, who also chaperoned her daughter in Newlyn, Dod Procter went to Paris. There she studied at Colarossi's alongside her future husband, Ernest Procter, and familiarized herself with the art of the Impressionists and Post-Impressionists. She admired Seurat's and Cézanne's use of light, resulting in a brightening of her own palette, and Renoir's depictions of the female figure. Later she responded to the work of Picasso, as demonstrated by her sculptural approach in paintings such as *Girl in Blue* (1925) or *Morning* (1926). After she returned from France, Procter settled in Newlyn permanently, but her training in Paris allowed her to connect the enduring, traditional elements of art as practised in Newlyn with more modern trends. (Significantly, the most prominent even of the younger women working in Newlyn, Dod Procter and Ruth Simpson included, chose to conduct their careers within the framework of the companionable marriage to fellow artists who understood and supported their professional ambition. Mina Arndt herself later entered into a similar relationship. While her future husband was not an artist himself, he was proud of his wife's career, and supported her to the best of his ability).

Arndt's complex position as a woman painter caught in a transitional phase of European art - between tradition and modernity - is further highlighted by her use of the female nude in her maturing work. The female nude had become a significant subject for women artists in Britain in the 1880s and 1890s. As summed up succinctly by Rosemary Betterton:

Mastery [sic] of the female nude was central to the construction of artistic identity in the nineteenth century and the site of a specifically gendered relationship between the male artists and female model. Its elements had come to represent a fundamental metaphor for creativity in modern European art: the artist as master of the gaze and of the natural world, signified through the naked body of a woman.³³⁵

By the late 19th-century, when women gained access to the life drawing studios of the art schools, the nude as a genre lost the privileged and prestigious position it had occupied in European art until then. Nevertheless, aiming to emulate their successful male colleagues, women adopted the painting of the nude to signal the thoroughness of their training, which now rivalled that of the men, and the seriousness of their professional attention, namely their ability to produce high art. As Pamela Gerrish Nunn has argued, women's commitment to the genre, and more specifically the painting of the female nude, was fuelled by the desire to gain

³³⁵ R. Betterton, *An intimate Distance: Women, Artists and the Body*, London & New York, 1996, p. 25.

[t]he influence that high art supposedly exerted over the minds of the masses....instead of the docility of the biddable and ignorant disciple of conventional opinion, they would become tastemakers, formers of ideas and values.³³⁶

However, women artists found themselves struggling with the genre, their work being 'largely inauthentic because they were working to male-defined schema and premise.'³³⁷ This observation applies as much to Laura Knight's *Daughters of the Sun* (c.1912, fig. 27) as to Arndt's *The Model* (1913). Knight's beach scene, depicting a group of young women and girls in various states of undress, forms part of the century long tradition of the idealized female nude, caught on canvas in an erotic spectacle as if unaware of the observer. But later, in *Self Portrait* (1913, fig. 28), Knight captures her problematic position of a female artist painting the female body, by combining an image of the female nude with another genre central to the construction of an artistic identity in European art, the self-portrait. Here she paints herself in the act of painting a standing female nude posed in front of a red screen. The painting of the model separates the artist from her model, as does the act of looking: Knight is seen gazing at another, naked woman. While the gaze, the act of painting itself, separates the artist from her model, the colour red connects the three representations of women, the model in front of the red screen, the painting of the model before the red background, and the artist, dressed in a red jacket. Knight places her profile between the depicted painting and the model, her mind, her gaze and her body forming a link between the two. Knight portrays herself as an artist, who uses the female body to demonstrate her professional status while acknowledging the profound division between the body of the female painter and the body of the female model, at a time when there was 'no visual language of the body available to women artists.'³³⁸

Perhaps Arndt included the female nude in her repertoire of works for exhibition for similar reasons as Laura Knight did, to signal her commitment and skill as a professional painter in general, and as a figure painter in particular. As mentioned above, in early 1913, she was working on *The Model* (Cat. 14), a studio piece of a reclining female model, to be sent to the Paris Salon. Here Arndt employs again the vigorous, broad brushwork and subdued tonality she used to such effect in *Homewards*, but in *The Model* her handling of colour fails to produce an emotive effect. The tonal contrast between the white sheet and curtain, the dark background and the ambiguously rendered foreground is forced. The extended arm of the model, used to introduce a strong diagonal into the

³³⁶ Nunn (1995), p. 143.

³³⁷ Nunn (1987), p.128.

³³⁸ Betterton, p. 24.

composition, appears rigid and lifeless. If anything, the model illustrates a particular phase Arndt had reached in her career: by then in her late twenties, with five years of study in Europe behind her, she was putting her skill as a figure painter to the test. On the threshold of independent artistic practice, she had tackled a difficult, but conventional studio piece. While it demonstrated the individuality of her brushwork, her unease vis-à-vis the subject matter expresses itself in the awkward composition of the painting and, when compared to *Homewards* or *Tired*, in its lack of emotional appeal. In a wider historical context it bears testimony to the fact, that while painting a naked female model, Arndt had to confront an aspect of her socially constructed persona which was governed by strict rules of propriety. Young, middle-class women were brought up to consider the female body, and, by implication, female sexuality, as inextricably linked with marriage and motherhood, and not as a symbol or tool of self-expression.³³⁹ Beyond using the female model as a signifier of a committed, professional art practice (copying a male practice developed in the context of the patriarchal tradition of European art), the female artist of the early twentieth century could not call on an existing visual language of the body, which may have enabled her to express authentically her identity as a female artist. It is therefore not surprising that the female nude only rarely appeared in Arndt's overall oeuvre. In 1913, however, she still considered painting from the nude as an essential building block in the construction of her career. As described in one of her letters, this was a process which then still relied on the opinion and example set by her teachers:

Again I'm here - supper over-half asleep after a busy day, but must have a chat before going to bed. Just now I am feeling very weary as evening approaches as it were, as have a lot to think of & work at. It's extraordinary the amount of work these beastly shows do give one, I shall be thankful when the things are all done with - Today sent off what's to try its luck again at the Salon and decided the best things were 2 small etchings, one dry point of an evening effect of the pathway, & the tiny Rembrandt beggar woman, & for the oil that lying figure of the woman, - 'nude' - on which I have worked a good deal lately. They are the most likely things I think... I have other things I could have sent to Paris, but think it better to do as I have, - I keep the others for London. After all as long as I get into the Salon again, it's all I want but it's all a matter of luck, so darlings, please don't count on it or 'expect'. Have had a perfectly wonderful week really, no wonder I am tired. Today finished a charming little picture of that woman holding a little baby, then called for Stanhope Forbes, who most kindly came down to see me at 'Uplong Studio' - wasn't it nice of him-of course

³³⁹ Lynda Nead expands on the argument of Betterton et al, stating that 'one of the principal goals of the female nude has been the containment and regulation of the female sexual body. The forms, conventions and poses of art have worked metaphorically to shore up the female body - to seal orifices and to prevent marginal matter from transgressing the boundary dividing the inside of the body and the outside, the self from the space of the other. Clearly, the relevance of this analytical body goes far beyond the examination of art. For if...the body's boundaries cannot be separated from the operation of other social and cultural boundaries, then bodily transgression is also an image of social deviation.' Lynda Nead, *The Female Nude: Art, Obscenity and Sexuality*, London, 1992, p. 6.

a visit from the 'Professor' in person in one's private workshop made all the students chatter. I'm jolly glad good friends tho with all, everyone is so nice. Stanie loves the painting I'm sending to Paris - was awfully keen on the way I handled the paint & colour & quite advised its going. Since [then I have] packed it up & with the etchings we gave the little parcel our blessing & sent it off.

It's the academy tho' I have me doots aboot.-There are two jolly good heads in charcoal - have had them framed together, but now Stanie thinks [they stand perhaps more chance being alone.] I do so want to send them though as they are, they look so fresh and direct as they are..I have this little picture of 'the young mother' I will I think send, he likes it immensely but it's so 'unacademic', its far more French then there is another one called 'Mary' upon my mind. Stanie was most interested, simply loved the studio - thought it so charmingly arranged & so on but he wants me to set to & paint an interior of the studio - a sketch in charcoal [I] have already done or 1/2 of it is done he says I can [easily] do in the next two weeks - but feel so tired I don't know that I can I can't strain myself cos' then the thing won't be specially good. I have been going for it so - now for the last two months. Anyhow never fear please goodness something of the many masterpieces will get in. ³⁴⁰

Apart from describing Arndt's perception of herself as an advanced student, her letter also shows that by 1913, she had developed some sense of the kind of picture which would form an appropriate submission for either the Royal Academy or the Paris Salon. As far as her paintings were concerned, she felt those demonstrating more vigorous brush work would do better at the Salon. In 1913, *The Model*, which had found the apparent approval of Forbes (although his own work had lightened up considerably at that time),³⁴¹ was indeed shown at the Salon.³⁴² However, the picture of 'the young mother', quite apart from marking Arndt's return to a less problematic subject matter, anticipates in its sketchiness and relaxed handling many of her later oil - and gouache sketches, and demonstrates that, after six years of study in Europe, Arndt had developed a range of painting techniques. But her repeated stays in Britain, in Newlyn and London, also encouraged Arndt to model her choice of exhibition venues on those regularly used by the artists around her as well as following the example of other expatriate New Zealanders.

As alluded to in her letter, after about five years in Europe, Mina's work patterns were focusing on getting her submissions ready in time for exhibition both at the Royal Academy and the Paris Salon. By then, she most wanted to 'get into' the Salon,

³⁴⁰ Letter from Mina Arndt to her family, dated 10 February 1913.

³⁴¹ See C. Fox (1993), p. 83.

³⁴² Catalogue, Société des Artistes Français, 1913, No.41 ('Le Modèle). The title page of a copy of the 1913 Salon catalogue is among the Mina Arndt papers at the ATL, Wellington. This is indeed the only indication that Arndt may have travelled to Paris during her seven years abroad.

(although she was never able to study in France herself) but the artists around her had succeeded both at the Royal Academy *and* the Paris Salon. So did fellow expatriates, as for example Frances Hodgkins, suggesting to Mina that having her work hung in both places was another important career step to take. However, in contrast to Hodgkins and Margaret Stoddart, Arndt did not show at any alternative exhibitions. Not even in Britain, an art scene she was more familiar with and where she spent a considerable amount of time during her seven years abroad, is she known to have contemplated exhibiting at venues other than the Royal Academy.³⁴³ In London, Arndt could have mounted a one person show as Edith Collier did after only ten months of study in Britain,³⁴⁴ or shown with the Society of Women Artists, but there is no record of her attempting to do either. Moreover, there is no evidence that she ever exhibited with the NEAC, which regularly featured work of the Newlyn artists. And although she had the backing of some of the most prominent members of the Secession, she is not on record as ever having exhibited in Berlin. Instead she began showing her work 'in absentia' in New Zealand, suggesting that she eventually aimed to set up as a professional artist in her home country. Indeed, there is no indication that Arndt intended to remain in Europe in the long run.³⁴⁵ Her pattern of exhibiting instead points to a conscious effort on her part to construct a reputation for herself which would hold up well under colonial scrutiny. While she was living the itinerant life of the colonial artist of modest means, she attempted to exhibit at the largest shows with the broadest appeal and highest public profile back home, namely the Paris Salon, the Royal Academy and the annual exhibitions of New Zealand art societies. Thus her career followed a rather traditional pattern, similar to that maintained by the artists of Newlyn and perhaps indicative of an ambivalent attitude on

³⁴³ She had little success with her submissions to the Royal Academy. While she made repeated efforts to have her work hung at the R.A. and some might have passed the selection process, none of them ever made it onto the walls of Burlington House.

³⁴⁴ See Kirker (1993), p. 59.

³⁴⁵ Here it needs to be remembered, how important family life was to Arndt. After Jenny returned to New Zealand in 1911 to get married, accompanied by her mother, her sister Edith continued to chaperone her in the ensuing years, and both made regular contact with the family of Jenny's husband in London. Arndt was never free enough to make entirely independent choices about her movements in Europe and given such strong family ties, it is unlikely that Arndt would have planned to remain abroad and perhaps not see her aging mother again.

Arndt's part towards more modern artistic practices.³⁴⁶

Arndt began sending work to the Paris Salon des Artistes Français (also known as the Old Salon) in 1912 and continued to do so on an irregular basis until 1926.³⁴⁷ Around 1910, the Paris Salon des Artistes Français was still one of the most significant events in the calendar of the European artistic community, despite the fact that from the late 19th-century onwards artists could choose from many different exhibition venues to show their work.³⁴⁸ Nevertheless, competition for a space on the Salon walls was still fierce. Thousands of artists would submit their works each March, hoping to win the approval of the jury and find their work hung in a favourable spot. Come opening day in May, as many as 5000 works would be on display, scrutinised by critics, dealers, and literally thousands of visitors. Under the control of the Société des Artistes Français since 1881,³⁴⁹ the Salon was admitting a wide variety of artists and artistic styles to its show,

³⁴⁶ Fellow New Zealand artists Grace Joel and Sydney Lough Thompson cultivated a similar attitude to Arndt, as far as exhibiting in Paris was concerned. Grace Joel exhibited with the 'Old Salon' until 1924, and for his debut in France in 1904, Thompson also sent his work to the more conservative Salon des Artistes Français. See King (1990), pp. 27-28, for Thompson's reflections on the Paris Salons: 'Paris had only two big salons and they were both held in the Grand Palais. The Salon des Artistes Français represented the older tendency, the official point of view. The Salon des Beaux-Arts was modern or was considered modern in the early years of the century... Of course, there was another salon, that of the Indépendants but no self-respecting person would have much to do with it. At least, we students thought the Salon des Indépendants was really the exhibition of works that had been refused by the other two salons.' The Salon of the Société Nationale des Beaux Arts, or New Salon, was established in 1889 and operated from 1890. It was located at the Champs de Mars and therefore called Salon des Champs de Mars. Although Arndt is said to have been a member of the Société Nationale des Beaux-Arts, there is no record of her ever exhibiting at the Salon des Beaux-Arts.

³⁴⁷ Regarding her submissions to the Paris Salon, the Manoy papers contain the following material:

- Notification from the Société des Artistes Français 1912, informing Melle Arndt, Hermine, that her work No 9707 had been admitted to the Salon.
- the same 1913, notifying Melle Arndt that her work No 916 had been admitted to the Salon
- the same 1914, notifying Melle Arndt that her work No.2179 had been admitted to the Salon.
- the same 1926, notifying Melle Arndt that her work No.1432 had not been admitted, but No.2327 had been admitted to the Paris Salon.

Grand Palais des Champs-Élysées: Carte D'Exposant, including invitation/ticket to the vernissage:

- 1912: made out to Melle Arndt, - one tag missing.
- 1913: 29 April to 30 June, made out to Melle Arndt.
- 1914: 30 April to 30 June, made out to Melle Hermine Arndt - one tag missing.
- 1926: 30 April to 30 June, made out to Madame Arndt, Mina.
- one loose tag of one of these cards, which could not be identified as to which ticket it belonged to.

None of these tickets had been signed on the back (as required before use), but as one admission tag is missing, she may have been to the Salon in either 1912 or 1914. There is, however, no further evidence to verify this.

The corresponding catalogues of the Paris Salon list Arndt as an exhibitor for the years 1913, 1914, and 1926. In 1912 she may have shown *The Old Jew's Head* in the printmaking section, although there is no catalogue reference available to support this assumption.

³⁴⁸ For an extensive discussion of artistic life in Paris and the role of the Salon at the turn of the century see J. Milner, *The Studios of Paris*, New Haven and London, 1988, p. 46ff. See also H. B. Weinberg, *The Lure of Paris*, New York, 1991.

³⁴⁹ Milner, p.48

often to the critics' bewilderment, but increasing the chances for an outsider like Arndt.

If, by 1912, showing with the Salon had become more than a little passé for the avant-garde, Arndt, not affiliated with any artistic movement and not familiar with the Paris art and gallery scene, would have thought of the Salon as the most obvious choice to send her pictures to. Furthermore, as alluded to above, fellow expatriates like Frances Hodgkins, Margaret Stoddart, Grace Joel and Sydney Lough Thompson had repeatedly sent their work to the Paris Salon in the first decade of the 20th-century,³⁵⁰ a move which certainly did not harm their professional reputation back in New Zealand. Significantly, though, while living and studying in Europe and trying to get into the 'big shows', Arndt also shipped work back to New Zealand to be sold. She possibly remembered the critical and financial success Hodgkins had with her first batch of works sent from Europe to New Zealand, both with Dunedin and Wellington audiences. Arndt's own first substantial contribution to an art society show in New Zealand was her 1912 exhibit with the NZAFA in Wellington. Here she may have hoped to build on the reputation she had earned with her student entries to the NZAFA.

The 1912 NZAFA catalogue listed her entries as:

No.148 <i>Old Dad</i> (oil)	(See Cat. 4 & 5)
No.150 <i>Grandmother's Dress</i> (oil)	
No.152 <i>A Berlin Marketwoman</i> (oil)	(Cat. 3)
No.261 <i>Rembrandt Copy</i> (etch.)	(See Cat. 267-270)
No.266 <i>Charlottenburgh Bridge</i> (etch.)	(Cat. 271)
No.268 <i>A Jew's Head</i> (etch.)	(Cat. 278)

Critical response was on the whole positive, which sent some promising signals to Arndt as to the viability of a professional career in New Zealand. The 'Lay Figure', a longstanding art critic for Wellington newspapers, devoted an unusually lengthy paragraph to Arndt's exhibits:

Another lady contributor, formerly well known in Wellington, is Miss Minna[sic] Arndt, whose clever work in modelling will be remembered. Miss Arndt, ...sends some exceptionally interesting and promising work. Her most notable contribution is the study of "An Old Berlin Marketwoman" (No.152). It is almost Degas-like in its directness and unsparing strength. The sense of physical visor is accompanied by a distinct suggestion of shrewdness in the face. It is evidently a picture which has been directly and fluently painted, unrelenting in its rejection of anything save sheer truth. No.150. "Grandmother's Dress"

³⁵⁰ See King (1997), p. 79 and R. D. J. Collins, *A Long Attachment: Frances Hodgkins in France*, in J. Ross, L. Gill and Stuart McRae (eds.), p. 89. Collins points out that Hodgkins, in line with her ambition of being a modern artist, only exhibited with the Old Salon in 1909 and 1910. Thereafter she preferred the more progressive New Salon, where she showed in 1911 and 1912, before seeking other regular opportunities for exhibition. Grace Joel, like Arndt, however, remained committed to the Old Salon as her preferred exhibition venue.

(exhibited, I believe, at the Paris Salon last year), has some element of crudeness in the color [sic]. But I like the painting of the face wherein primness and latent humour are combined, and the folds of the dress, always a difficult thing to do, are cleverly managed... a copy of one of the most famous of Rembrandt's etchings, is hung in the main gallery, in company with others by Lionel Lindsay and A.H. Fallwood. It should not be overlooked, as it is a beautiful example of this most delicate art. In the ante-room the visitor will find two etchings by Miss Arndt. One is "A Jew's Head" (268), the other a fine study of a scene which lends itself peculiarly to etching, "The Charlottenburgh Bridge, at Berlin". I hope Miss Arndt will continue practising this delightful form of art, in which the artist can express so much of his or her personality. In England, Germany or France, many leading artists are now taking up etching as an agreeable variation from other mediums of artistic expression. ³⁵¹

The writing of the 'Lay Figure'³⁵² represents some of the most sophisticated critical effort local writers and journalists were capable of at the time. Usually exhibitors were listed alphabetically, the work briefly described with adjectives such as 'charming', 'delightful' or 'clever', particularly so when the work of a woman, a 'lady artist', was discussed. With this, her first independent contribution to the NZAFA annual exhibition, Arndt by contrast attracted the comparatively extensive critical coverage usually reserved for more prominent (and more often than not male) artists, which endeavours to identify some of the foreign influences Arndt had incorporated into her work. As expected, her efforts to exhibit at the Salon were commented on and may have further encouraged the 'Lay Figure' to welcome the new addition to the Wellington art scene as enthusiastically as he did and to draw local audiences' attention to Arndt's work.

The reviewers for the *The Evening Post* and *The Dominion*, while not even attempting to discuss Arndt's work in reference to European practices, agreed that *A Berlin Marketwoman* (Cat. 3) was her most remarkable contribution that year. But if the comments by the 'Lay Figure' gave Arndt some encouragement, the scope and tone of the other notices served as a reminder of the generally ignorant, conservative and sometimes careless critical comment published in New Zealand newspapers. Thus the reviewer for *The Evening Post* mixed up Arndt's work with that of another contributor, drawing into doubt her competence because of a work falsely attributed to her:

Continuing the notes on the oil colours in the New Zealand Academy of Arts twenty-fourth annual Exhibition, some claim to particular mention is established by Mina Arndt. How uneven one may be in the pursuits of the arts, graphic, literary or musical, is demonstrated in Miss Arndt's two paintings, "The Little Mother" (148) and "The Berlin Market Woman" (152). The former does the painter of the latter an injustice, for while the idea of the painter is recognisable, the drawing, especially of the child's left fore arm is peculiar, to

³⁵¹ *The New Zealand Times*, 21 October 1912, p. 2.

³⁵² The actual identity of the 'Lay Figure' could not be established from any available archival material.

say the least of it. But in the "fat wife" picture there is presented the portrait of a lady of direct speech and action, one with whom it would be unwise to argue about the price of kartoffelen [sic]. Here is presented one who no doubt has a particular rough side to her tongue. Miss Arndt's methods are proclaimed in this work to be broad as to treatment, with a partiality for the palette-knife rather than the brush. It might have been more in Miss Arndt's interest if this picture were the solitary example of her work shown this year.³⁵³

The critic writing for *The Dominion* noted that

[t]here are a proportionate number of portraits among the works on exhibition, varying in style and method of work. From the heavy masses of pigment in some cases to the lighter and softer methods in others....No.148, "The Little Mother" (T.W.Smith) has much character, it is a living idea well expressed - quite a subject picture, but the poetry retained. Why this picture was skied is a question...No.159, "Light and Shadow", (A.A.Schmidt) has good points, but the artist makes a mistake by using her [sic] brush 'x'ways, as it destroys the value of the light. Oils want different treatment and where the flesh tints are concerned, even if the surface is not smooth, the cross track of the brush suggests tattooing. No.152 "A Berlin Market Woman", is a very strong specimen, both the woman and the manner. There is much paint fearlessly laid on. The proper effects need distance.³⁵⁴

As far as her subject matter is concerned, Arndt's predominantly figurative work fitted well into the mélange of landscapes, still lifes, portraits and genre pieces usually exhibited with the art societies. And as *The Berlin Marketwoman* demonstrates, technically her portraiture could more than measure up to similar work by such well established artists as Canterbury's Elizabeth Kelly or Wellington's Mary Elizabeth Tripe.³⁵⁵ What set Arndt apart at this early stage of her New Zealand career is her experimentation with printmaking, which had few practitioners in New Zealand at the time.³⁵⁶ Only a month before her Wellington exhibit, Charles Wilson, the Parliamentary Librarian lamented in an article entitled 'A Gossip about Etching and some Modern Etchers': 'New Zealand artists who are etchers are, I am afraid, so far, but few in number, and as a rule our local exhibitions are quite destitute of any examples of their efforts.'³⁵⁷ The few etchers he was referring to were Richard Herdman-Smith, Noel Barraud, W. F. Barraud, H. Linley Richardson, James McDonald and Richard Wallwork. The latter, having studied etching and engraving under Frank Short at the Royal College of Art, began showing some of his graphic work soon after his arrival in New Zealand in

³⁵³ *The Evening Post*, 16 October, 1912, p. 2.

³⁵⁴ *The Dominion*, 14 October 1912, p.6.

³⁵⁵ In contrast to Arndt's portraits, however, the majority of Kelly's images of females showed young (society) women. See J. Abbott, Elizabeth Kelly, M.A. Thesis, University of Canterbury, 1999, for a detailed account of Kelly's career.

³⁵⁶ For a general background to the history of printmaking in New Zealand see A. Kirker, A History of Printmaking in New Zealand, Fine Arts Thesis, University of Auckland, 1969.

³⁵⁷ *The Triad*, 10 October 1912, p. 29.

1911.³⁵⁸ With her own exhibit in 1912, Mina became one of the first of the younger New Zealand artists, Archibald Nicoll and Flora Scales among them, to include prints in their submissions to the local art society shows. No doubt Arndt was confident that the European vogue for original prints would reach New Zealand soon, in which case her expertise as a printmaker would be a highly desirable skill.

While her failure to have her work hung at the Royal Academy must surely have been a disappointment to Arndt, the kind of working pattern she established while living in Europe gave her some idea of the life of the professional artist. She spent most of the year in the studio, working towards the regular deadlines of established annual shows, drawing on the advice and support of various members of the different artistic communities she was working in. The time Mina Arndt spent living and working in Newlyn, then, had a lasting impact on her career, and thus compounded the already significant influence the Cornish colonies had on early 20th-century New Zealand art. It allowed Arndt to move beyond the restrictions of colonial art practice, considerably broadening her technical skills, but also cocooned her from (urban) modernist trends in art. She did not fully embrace the *plein air* doctrine as interpreted by Stanhope Forbes and his fellow Cornish painters, but remained essentially tied to their realist tradition. While working in Cornwall, Arndt also adopted a number of the habitual subject matters of Newlyn women artists, a preference which was to be further strengthened by her choice of teachers in Germany.

³⁵⁸ See *Art in New Zealand*, vol. 3, no.10, December 1930, pp.147-148. For an unpublished biography of Richard and Elizabeth Wallwork see Devon Sinclair, *Richard and Elizabeth Wallwork-Artists and Teachers* (unpublished manuscript).

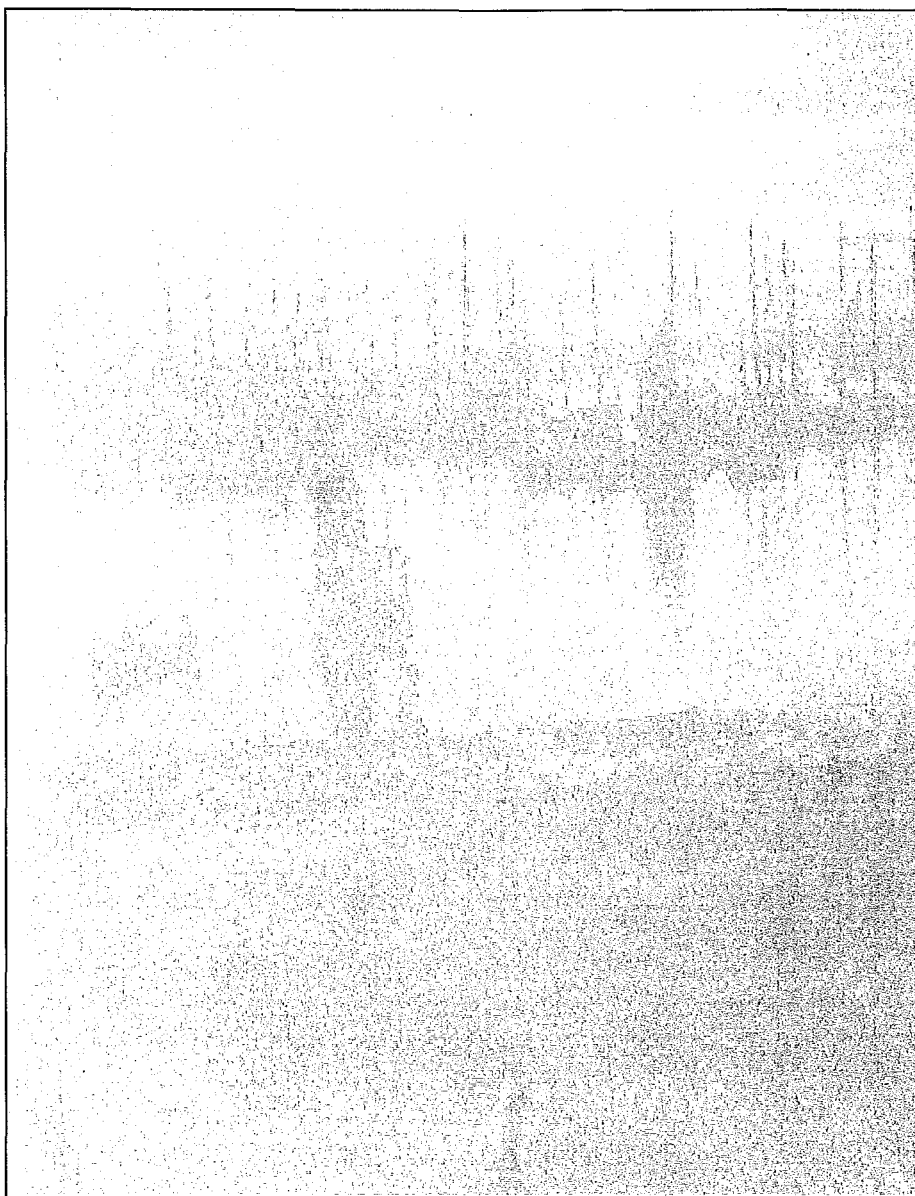


Fig.: 19

Title: Mina Arndt: *Newlyn Harbour*

Collection: priv. coll., Motueka



Fig.: 20

Title: Stanhope Forbes: *Preparations for the Market, Quimperle*

Collection: DCAG

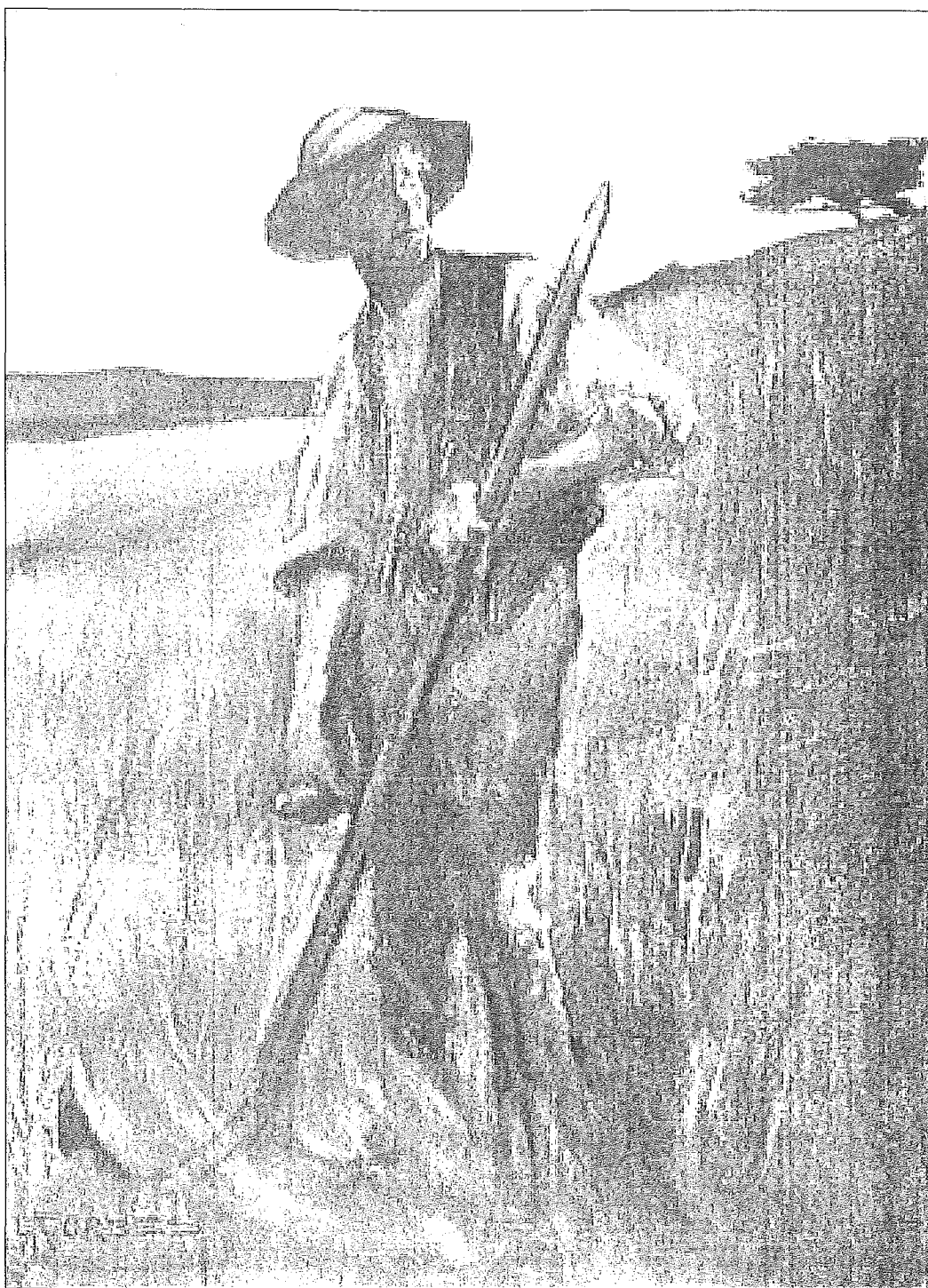


Fig.: 21

Title: Elizabeth Armstrong Forbes: *For Miles had Grown a Man...*

Collection: (Source: Mrs. Lionel Birch, p. 85)



Fig.: 22

Title: Elizabeth Armstrong Forbes: *School is Out*

Collection: Penzance and District Museum and Gallery



Fig.: 23

Title: Laura Knight: *The Beach*

Collection: Newcastle upon Tyne, Tyne and Wear Museum



Fig.: 24

Title: Walter Langley: *Fishwives*

Collection: Penzance and District Museum and Gallery

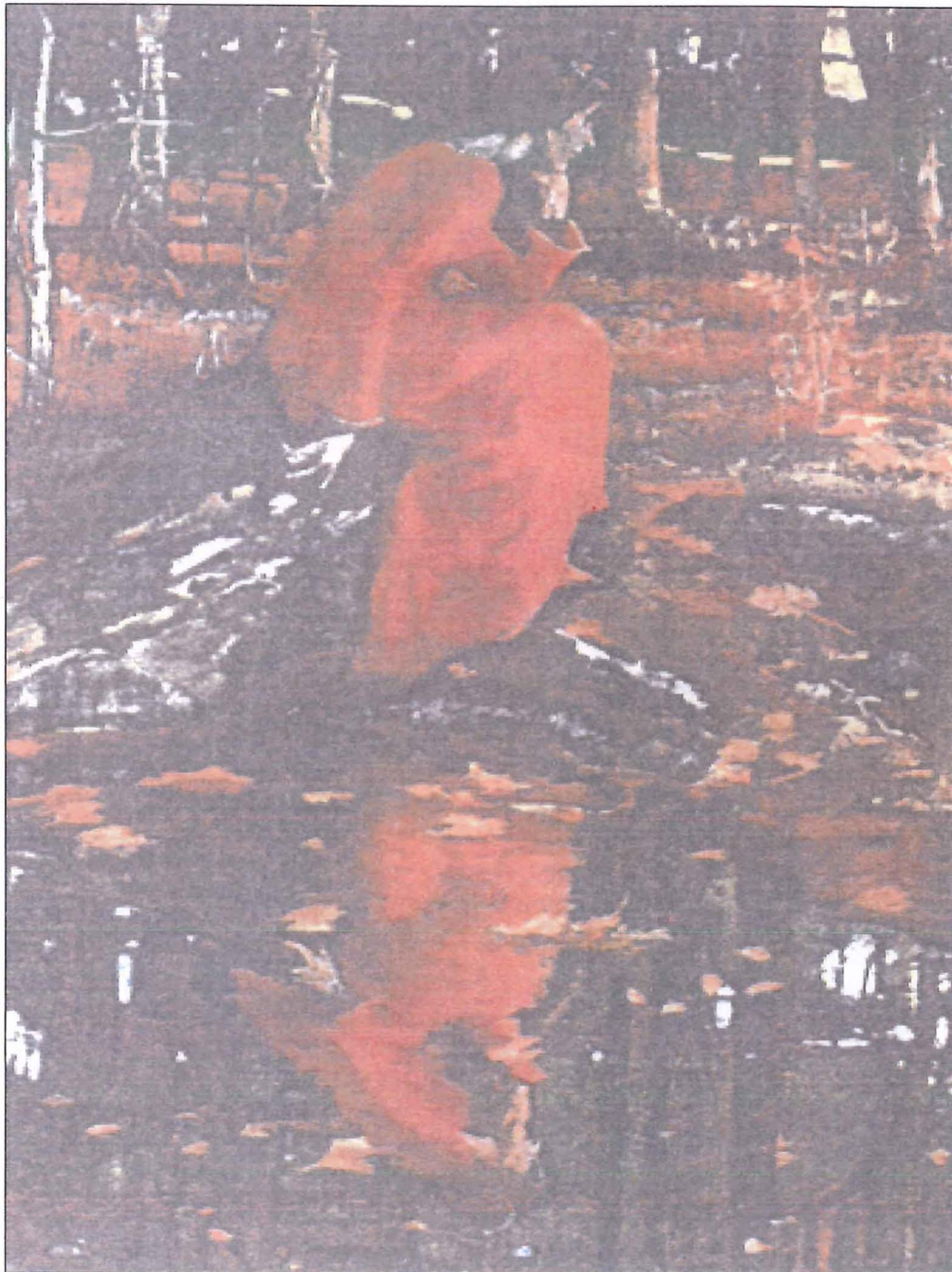


Fig.: 25

Title: Elizabeth Armstrong Forbes: *The Leaf*

Collection: (Source: Mrs. Lionel Birch, p. 75)



Fig.: 26

Title: Norman Garstin: *A Woman Reading a Newspaper*

Collection: Tate Gallery, London



Fig.: 27

Title: Laura Knight: *Daughters of the Sun*

Collection: (Source: T. Cross, p. 162)

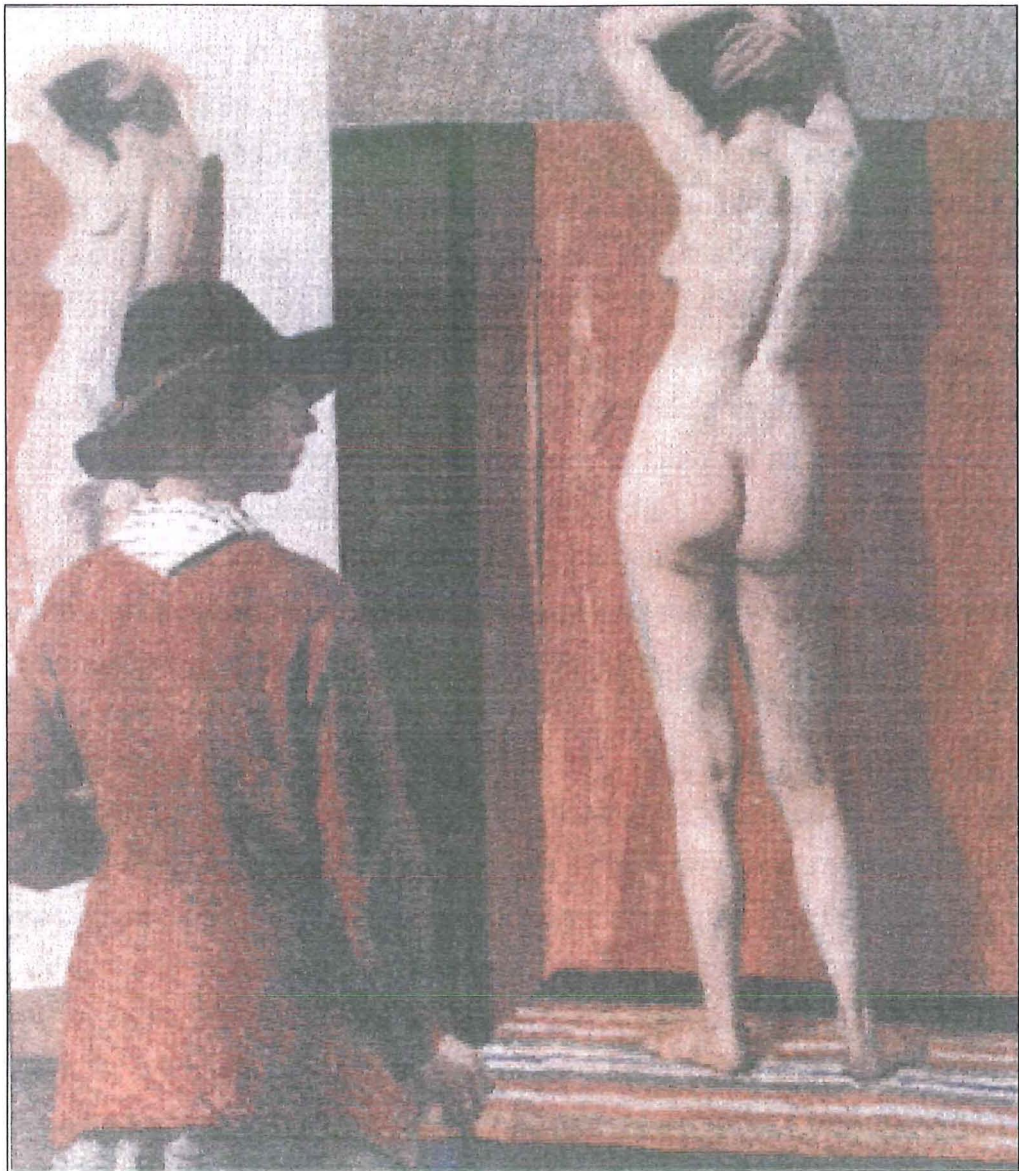


Fig.: 28

Title: Laura Knight: *Self Portrait*

Collection: National Portrait Gallery, London

Chapter 5:

The German Influences: Mina Arndt in Berlin

It is Mina Arndt's training in Germany and particularly her association with Lovis Corinth and, to a far lesser degree, Hermann Struck, which thus far has been of most interest to New Zealand art historians and museum curators. Her painting has been repeatedly related to Corinth's vigorous style, while Struck has generally been acknowledged as her principal tutor in printmaking without, however, considering the circumstances and wider implications of her encounter with both men.³⁵⁹ This chapter will reevaluate the training Arndt received in Berlin, taking into account the major trends in German art at the time and discussing her association not only with Corinth and Struck, but also with the virtually unknown artist Julie Wolfthorn, heretofore ignored by all historians who have considered Mina Arndt's contribution to New Zealand art. It will argue that Wolfthorn and Struck, sharing Arndt's Jewish cultural background, influenced her for the remainder of her career through their art, its scope and content and the way particularly Wolfthorn conducted herself as a professional.

Existing records show that Arndt first arrived in Berlin in the (European) autumn of 1909 and lived there for about two years. It appears she had little choice in this, as she was travelling in the company of her mother and two sisters, who had moved to Berlin to renew contacts with their German relatives. Jennie spent much of her time there teaching elocution, even giving recitations of 'masterpieces of English literature' at the University of Berlin.³⁶⁰ While Mina's aging mother greatly enjoyed her time in Berlin, perhaps one of Europe's most rapidly expanding urban centres, Mina herself at first did not know how to advance her artistic career in this foreign cultural environment. Among Arndt's surviving correspondence a letter, written from Berlin 1909, reveals some of her impressions of the German Imperial capital:

I must say, but honestly the atmosphere here doesn't appeal a bit to me. I'm not prejudiced a bit either, cos have been about too much for that & every nation though quite dissimilar in sentiment & everything else has its strong points. But the [Fritzes] in the streets the pictures in the shops, the modern trend in art, in living, it doesn't give one that feeling of freshness & cleanness. I'd rather live in Wellington any day than in Berlin I still say and one can be

³⁵⁹ See for example *Mina Arndt 1886 [sic]-1926*, Biographical Notes to the Exhibition Catalogue, Palmerston North Art Gallery, 1967; *New Zealand Women Artists 1845-1968*, Exhibition Catalogue, Auckland Society of Artists, p. 8; Brown and Keith (1969), pp. 72-74; Tomory (1968), p. 19; Kirker (1993), pp. 56-57; Dunn (1991), p. 68.

³⁶⁰ See Letter from Philip Nathan to his father, 4 May 1911, stating that Jennie had 'earned her living teaching elocution & giving elocution recitals at the large gymnasiums [highschools] in Berlin.' (Nathan papers) See also a reference for Jennie Arndt by Prof. F. S. Dehner, English lecturer at the University of Berlin, dated 15 November 1909 (MAPM).

jolly proud of the life of the colonies.³⁶¹

Modernity, as exemplified in the urban life of Berlin before WW1, did not appeal to Arndt. Imperial Berlin, described by Walter Rathenau in 1899 as a 'Chicago on the Spree'³⁶² had indeed become synonymous with modernity in Imperial Germany. It was home to Germany's most advanced high technology enterprises and featured Germany's first underground railway system, while the city centre, the commercial heart of the German Empire, boasted hundreds of opulent stores, theatres, cinemas and cabarets. Its reputation as a city open to innovation attracted many young artists to Berlin, most notably the Expressionists of Die Brücke, who arrived there in 1911.³⁶³ Nevertheless public opinion as to the status of Berlin as a cultural centre of Europe was divided, and constantly debated, until the 1920s.³⁶⁴ Even within Germany, Berlin was only one of four main artistic centres, the others being Munich, Dresden, and Düsseldorf. Thus, while continuously looking over its shoulder to mark its progress in comparison to Paris or London, Berlin was also struggling to become the cultural capital of the newly unified Germany.

Berlin had been the seat of the royal court of Prussia since the early 19th-century, but only gained the status of a capital with the formation of Imperial Germany in 1871. The shift in its political status also marked the transition of the city from 'Großstadt' to 'Weltstadt'. Its administrative function was now overshadowed by financial, commercial and industrial developments, resulting in a population increase from 633 000 inhabitants in 1864 to over 2 071 000 inhabitants in 1910.³⁶⁵ Thus in 1876, the Berlin executive council noted that

with a speed unprecedented in Europe, our community has burst its bounds as a modest princely seat with an almost all-pervasive small town character, and has suddenly become a world city which is in equal of the million-peopled cities which have traditionally been the focus of great events.³⁶⁶

In the wake of these developments, familiar problems associated with rapid urban growth and industrialisation, such as overcrowding, poverty, crime and prostitution

³⁶¹ Letter from Mina Arndt to her family, 21 October 1909 (Family collection, Wellington) See Appendix IV.

³⁶² See R. Lenman, *Artists and Society in Germany 1850-1914*, Manchester & New York, 1997, p. 5. for a detailed description of Imperial Germany, its economy, politics, cultural and social developments, see V.R. Berghahn, *Imperial Germany 1871-1914*, Oxford, 1994.

³⁶³ For a discussion of cultural trends in Berlin during the early 20th-century, see also E. Roters, *Berlin 1910-1933*, New York, 1982.

³⁶⁴ Lenman, p. 113.

³⁶⁵ V. R. Berghahn, p. 310.

³⁶⁶ *Verwaltungsbericht des Magistrats zu Berlin pro 1876*, p. 3, quoted in M. Meskimmon & S. West, *Visions of the Neue Frau*, Aldershot, 1995, p. 146.

pressed on the public mind. These manifestations of Berlin's passage into urban modernity caused a considerable amount of cultural anxiety, and may have also left its mark on Mina Arndt upon her arrival in the city. An important point of public debate from the late 19th-century until the 1920s was the question whether Berlin's cultural activities matched or contributed to its standing as one of Europe's leading capitals. In that, the public's perception of the visual arts was the least secure. It was in a climate of general uncertainty as to the value and nature of German art, or more precisely, art as it manifested itself in Berlin, Mina Arndt orientated herself in the local art scene and encountered extremes of art practice which arguably exceeded those she had witnessed in London.

Greatest visibility in Imperial Germany was enjoyed by the the many hundreds of academically trained artists. Not surprisingly, the Imperial family lent its most consistent support to the Royal Academy of the Arts in Berlin, which operated roughly along the lines of its counterparts in Rome or Paris and was one of the three main organisations administering and supporting the visual arts in the capital (the others being the Verein Berliner Künstler (VBK) or Association of Berlin Artists and the 'Allgemeine Deutsche Kunstgenossenschaft' (ADK) or General German Artists' Union). It was the Academy's function to define and organise the implementation of aesthetic standards for the general public, and its members were called upon to advise the Government on issues of patronage and other matters concerning the arts. It also had a didactic role, training artists at the Königliche akademische Hochschule für die bildenden Künste [Royal Academy of the Fine Arts].³⁶⁷ The role of the VBK was a predominantly social one, but under the leadership of Anton von Werner also gained some administrative influence. Anton von Werner, already the director of the teaching institute of the Academy and an accomplished painter himself, was elected the chairman of the VBK as well as the ADK in 1887, holding all three positions for the next two decades. With the backing of the Royal family, he set about reorganising the Berlin art scene.

In accordance with the changing social climate in Berlin, reflected in the shifting attitudes of the fast growing middle-class towards the arts, von Werner saw to it that the VBK became an equal partner in the management of the Berlin Salon, that it gained greater access to government commissions and juries and that the Verein itself was brought under greater government control. Thus von Werner sought to achieve a fusion of the academic elite and the middle rank, even of the so-called proletarian artists of Berlin. His

³⁶⁷ Many of the school's graduates would have been members of the VBK, a private association of artists formed in 1841 and the ADK, which was inaugurated in 1856. Many members of the VBK also joined the local chapter of the ADK.

programme was one of 'cooperation among artists themselves and among artists' societies and the state, in the service of an aesthetic based on a clean realism that inspired or amused, did not eschew narrative or didactic elements, but never shocked.'³⁶⁸ If the urban environment of Berlin lacked any of the familiar reference points of cultural tradition which helped Mina Arndt to coordinate her training in London, she must have felt equally alienated by the content of much of the art crowding the walls of the Berlin Salon, the major marketplace for local artistic products. Here, in the 'clean realism' supported by von Werner, countless canvases celebrated the achievements of the Prussian aristocracy and commemorated German history, mythology and folklore.

During visit to the Berlin Salon, paintings such as von Werner's *Im Etappenquartier vor Paris 1870* (1894) would have reminded colonial (Anglo Saxon) newcomers like Arndt, that at the time German artists were seen as instrumental in creating a sense of national identity and national pride. They were urged by their patrons, consisting in the main of the aristocracy, captains of industry and commerce and the emerging 'Bildungsbürgertum', to establish a national school of art - a national style - which would not only be truly German in its sentiment, but also rival French art in achievement and international status. Discussing the arts beyond purely aesthetic considerations, Kaiser Wilhelm II himself often spoke not only of the duty of art to serve the glorification of the House of Hohenzollern, but also emphasised the individual artist's social responsibility to educate and morally uplift members of all social classes. Thus he proclaimed in 1901:

But when art, as often happens today, shows us only misery, and shows it to us even uglier than misery is anyway, then art commits a sin against the German people. The supreme task of our cultural effort is to foster our ideals. If we are and want to remain a model for other nations, our entire people must share in this effort, and if culture is to fulfill its task completely it must reach down to the lowest levels of the population. That can be done only if art holds out its hand to raise the people up, instead of descending into the gutter.³⁶⁹

Ideas like these were of course circulating in other European nations at the time, but in Germany the dislike of artistic influences from beyond its boundaries was particularly pronounced, effectively distancing German practitioners and audiences from the cosmopolitan community of European art. The desire to move beyond patriotic bigotry and to link the local art scene with artistic developments outside Germany was one of the ideas underlying the formation in 1898 of the Berlin Secession, the second influential artistic faction in the local art world.

³⁶⁸ P. Paret, *The Berlin Secession - Modernism and its Enemies in Imperial Germany*, London, 1980, p. 15.

³⁶⁹ Johannes Penzler (ed.), *Die Reden Kaiser Wilhelms I*, Leipzig 1907, pp. 61-62, quoted in Paret, p. 27.

The formation of the Secession was brought about by conflicts similar to those behind the formation of the NEAC in Britain or the Vienna or Munich Secession. When in 1898 a competent work by Walter Leistikow was refused entry to the woefully oversubscribed Berlin Salon by the conservatively minded jury, a group of sixty-five artists under the leadership of Max Liebermann³⁷⁰ broke away from the VBK to form the Berlin Secession. This was to change the art scene in Berlin significantly, with the Secession becoming a popular champion for modern trends in art, particularly in the years leading up to 1910. By then, the Secession members, holding separate exhibitions and widely publicising their views on art in the printed media, had significantly increased demand for their works and continued to challenge the attitudes of the local art establishment. On the whole, the members of the Berlin Secession were concerned with individual artistic excellence beyond the search for a national aesthetic, thus representing in its shows many different styles, of which Liebermann's variant of Impressionism, as seen in *Judengasse in Amsterdam* (1905), was just one example. From 1900, the work of foreign painters as diverse as Monet, Rodin, Whistler, van Gogh, Munch, Kandinsky and Cézanne were shown with the Secession. Its annual winter shows, devoted entirely to the graphic arts, publicised the work of Käthe Kollwitz (1867-1945), Nolde, Feininger and prints of the young members of Die Brücke. As Horst Uhr observed, 'by 1911, the organisation had shown the work of virtually every leading artist of then burgeoning movements of Expressionism, Fauvism and Cubism.'³⁷¹ The foreign works regularly included in its annual exhibition 'established an international standard and the cosmopolitan aura in which the Secession felt most at home.'³⁷²

However, within this diversity also lay the seeds of further dissent, leading to the formation of Berlin's most radical artistic faction. Working alongside the Secession, Paul Cassirer was among the first private dealers in German-speaking Europe to present consistently the work of French Impressionists and Post Impressionists, inspiring many Berlin artists to develop their own variants of these styles. Together with Max Liebermann, Cassirer was virtually in control of the Secession's executive committee, which was responsible for selecting works for the annual exhibition. Their decisions

³⁷⁰ Max Liebermann (1847-1935), generally considered to have been Germany's principal Impressionist painter, studied in Berlin, Weimar, Düsseldorf Paris and Holland. From 1873 to 1878 he lived in Paris, where he was much influenced by the work of the Barbizon painters and Courbet. In Holland he studied the *plein air* painting of Jongkind and Israels, copied the work of Frans Hals as well as working from nature. From 1878-84 he settled in Munich, before returning to Berlin 1884. He began to work in the Impressionist manner in the 1890's, producing perhaps his strongest work from 1900-1913.

³⁷¹ Horst Uhr, *Lovis Corinth*, Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1990, p. 129.

³⁷² Paret, p. 159.

were often criticised, especially by the younger members of the Secession.³⁷³ In 1910, when eighty-nine works by twenty-seven Expressionists were rejected by the jury, the artists in question, under the leadership of Max Pechstein, formed their own organisation, the New Secession, and exhibited their work in competition with the Berlin Secession.

Although the Secession was thus no longer the most radical organisation within the modern movement in Germany, it nevertheless came under pressure from the conservative forces when Worpsswede painter Carl Vinnen launched his much publicised attack on foreign art and its promoters in Germany.³⁷⁴ The leaders of the Secession, Liebermann, Slevogt and Corinth were among the most prominent of Vinnen's critics, Liebermann going as far as saying that Vinnen and his supporters might solve their problems by painting better pictures. Pressured by the avant-garde on one side and by the cultural patriots on the other, the Secession and the artists it represented must have appeared to an outsider like Arndt like the voice of reason, progressive in the moderate sense of the NEAC, yet not given to being dominated by the extreme avant-garde and its tortured view of modern existence, which Arndt thought of as 'unclean.'

In addition, Arndt was perhaps aware of the significant Jewish presence in the Berlin Secession. Many of the Secession's leading artists were Jewish, such as Max Liebermann and Hermann Struck, as well as a number of their most significant patrons and two of their most consistent and influential supporters and administrators, Bruno and Paul Cassirer. Even during its heyday, the years from 1904 to 1910, much anti-Semitic criticism was levelled at the Secession from members of the mainstream art establishment. Mina Arndt had certainly not encountered this degree of anti-Semitism before. Given its position as a moderate force in modern art, its strong Jewish representation, as well as its significant membership of women artists, it is not surprising that most of the artistic contacts Arndt eventually pursued in Berlin were associated with the Secession. Arndt was looking for highly skilled, versatile painters, whose work, similar to her British teachers had developed from the study of French and Dutch realism, when she set out to join her many German sisters of the brush in the teaching studios of Berlin.

³⁷³ This state of affairs was not helped by the death in 1908 of the Secession's most skilled administrator, Walter Leistikow, after which the hostilities within the organisation began to escalate dramatically.

³⁷⁴ See Carl Vinnen, *Ein Protest deutscher Künstler*, Jena, 1911, as quoted in Lenman, pp. 59-60. Vinnen's 'Protest' was signed by 140 German artists, who felt that they had to imitate especially French art to gain critical and public acceptance - thus losing their identity as German artists. Vinnen described much of French art as a 'fad', and the work of the young Expressionists was singled out as the lamentable result of the internationalisation of modern art.

As was the case in other European countries, female participation in the visual arts greatly increased in Germany from the mid 19th-century onwards,³⁷⁵ when Germany had to face its own woman question, or more more precisely, the presence of a large number of 'surplus' women who could not be supported by their middle-class families. Access to higher public education was denied to German women at the time, and in any case, employment outside the home for middle-class women was deemed socially unacceptable. In 1865, the Allgemeiner Deutscher Frauenverein (General German Women's Union), the first organised woman's movement in the country, was formed in Berlin. From then on, Berlin became the centre for public and private efforts to find socially acceptable, paid employment for middle-class women. Founded in 1865, the Lette Verein offered unmarried women training in the applied arts, but also in painting and sculpture. The focus on the applied arts was maintained at several other training facilities for women, such as the Schule for Kunststickerei (School for Artistic Needlework), which 'sought to professionalise women's handiwork.'³⁷⁶

In Berlin, the increasing training facilities in the applied arts were complemented by the establishment in 1868 of the Zeichen-und Malschule des Vereins der Künstlerinnen und Kunstfreundinnen zu Berlin (Drawing and Painting School of the Union of Berlin Women Artists and Female Patrons), for many years the only organisation to encourage consistently and facilitate the careers of women artists in Berlin. Among its staff it employed respected artists such as Käthe Kollwitz and Jeanne Bauck (1846-1925)³⁷⁷ but because of its limited facilities and shortage of qualified teachers could not match the kind of professional training the Königliche Akademische Hochschule could offer. German state academies did not fully integrate female art students until after WW1 and as a result, women's professional participation in the fine arts increased only slowly. In 1895, 10.9% of all professional artists in Germany were women, the rate only increasing to 16.9 % in 1907.³⁷⁸

Women's progress in the fine arts in Germany was further hampered by a lack of critical and scholarly recognition of their work. As late as 1908, a year before Mina Arndt arrived

³⁷⁵ For an extensive discussion of female art practice in Germany around the turn of the century see Renate Berger, *Malerinnen auf dem Weg in 20. Jahrhundert. Kunstgeschichte als Sozialgeschichte*, Cologne, 1982.

³⁷⁶ Renate Berger, Training and Professionalism: Germany, Austria and Switzerland, in Delia Gaze (ed.), *Dictionary of Women Artists*, London & Chicago, 1997, vol. 1, p.100.

³⁷⁷ Jeanne Bauck, a painter of landscapes and portraits, grew up in Stockholm with her Swedish mother and German father. In the late 1860s, she travelled through Germany where she trained in Dresden, Düsseldorf and Munich. She then studied in Paris, but returned to Munich where she opened an art school for women. Bauck moved to Berlin towards the end of the 19th-century. There she became one of the professional role models for Paula Modersohn Becker. Her landscapes were in much demand in England.

³⁷⁸ Lenman, p. 123.

in Berlin, conservative writers like the German art historian Karl Scheffler maintained that women lacked the two most important prerequisites to succeed in the fine arts - that is 'the fanatical forward driving will' and 'the force that we call talent.'³⁷⁹ More moderate commentators, who seemed to value women's contributions to German art enough to publish books about them, discussed their work in constant reference to middle-class notions of femininity.³⁸⁰ Thus German women artists of the early 20th-century, like their British counterparts, were, as Parker and Pollock pointed out, 'relegated to a special category which was presented as distinct from mainstream cultural activity and public professionalism -the preserve of masculinity.'³⁸¹

However, the decline of the quintessentially academic product, history painting, was one important factor which worked in women's favour and encouraged them in ever increasing numbers into the contemporary art market, where a decent and socially acceptable living could be made with smaller examples of the lesser genres. For those women who sought to establish themselves as figure painters, the lack of access to the life classes at the academies continued to hamper their progress. It was therefore common for aspiring female artists, in Berlin and elsewhere in Germany, to enroll at one of the many private schools for 'lady students' run by male artists in order to finance their own careers. To some of the older artists (as the case of Corinth illustrates) their private schools represented a marriage market, while others sought to attract female imitators without any prospects. As Renate Berger has pointed out, such secondary intentions on the part of the male teachers 'would have made a meaningful programme of study difficult or impossible.'³⁸²

Back in New Zealand, advice on where to study in Germany would have been scarce, and it is doubtful that Mina Arndt knew the work of any contemporary German artists before her departure for Europe. In the weeks following her arrival, she therefore explored her options regarding further training by visiting a number of teaching studios, not all of which made a favourable impression on her -highlighting her reluctance to become a 'female imitator':

In every way in a strange land one has to take time to thoroughly get used to things, it is all so different. We are gradually settling down Though for my part am not. [I] have been going to all the different studios here to see where to

³⁷⁹ Karl Scheffler, quoted in Shulamith Behr, *Women Expressionists*, New York, 1988, p. 8.

³⁸⁰ See for example A. Hirsch, *Die Bildenden Künstlerinnen der Neuzeit*, Stuttgart, 1905. In the preface to his book, Hirsch, who was the director of the Art and Design School of Luxembourg, laments the dearth of historical records of any kind regarding the careers of women artists, but fails to speculate on the reasons for this.

³⁸¹ Parker and Pollock, p. 44.

³⁸² Berger, in Gaze, (ed.), p. 100.

work in but still cannot decide its frightfully hard to know what to do... You can't imagine the Corint School I went to, I wish you could only see it. Corint is a marvel but the students as far as I can see are the most poisonous productions. One sees faces painted in a [scene] of green & purple. Then I went to a [show] Fritz Burger, he has just opened a school. Am considering that. - Yesterday I went 'ganz allein' to a studio in Lutzowstrasse, a Hans Baluschek, well known, its a school for women, but sort of ladylike place where one worships the master & does mostly tidy work. I hate those school[s].³⁸³

As mentioned above, a shared characteristic of all the artists Arndt is known to have contacted during her time in Berlin is their association with the Secession movement. Hans Baluschek (1870-1935), for example, was a painter of unsentimental scenes of working and lower middle-class life. He also cultivated a fascination with modern machinery, which he recorded for industrialist patrons with meticulous, realist precision - themes which Mina Arndt had little interest in herself. It is not surprising, however, that she considered joining the teaching studio of Fritz Burger (born 1867). Burger, who had received academic training in both Munich and Paris, was a versatile painter who earlier on had included landscape and still life painting in his repertoire. However, around the turn of the century he began to specialise in portraiture, including portraits of children, combining convincing characterisation with painterly appeal ('sichere Charakterisierung und hohe malerische Reize').³⁸⁴ He was also a printmaker of note, best known for his technically innovative approach to colour lithography. Thus Burger appeared to be the very artist Mina Arndt herself aspired to be, a versatile and accomplished painter and printmaker.

In 1909, Arndt also met up again up with Joseph Oppenheimer (1876-1966), who had given her a few lessons in London towards the end of 1907.³⁸⁵ Oppenheimer had trained in Munich before moving to London in 1896, having first travelled to the Middle East and Rome. Working in a high key, vigorous Impressionist style, he turned his interest to a wide range of subjects: urban scenes, landscapes and portraiture. He began exhibiting at the Royal Academy in 1904, and is widely believed to have moved back to Berlin after WW1. Arndt's letter of 1909, however, suggests that he already maintained a studio in Berlin that year. Although he did not teach at that time, he was willing to discuss her work and Arndt took 'two nudes and a portrait' for him to have a look at. Apparently he was well pleased with her progress. Among all of Arndt's known contacts, Oppenheimer's was the art most closely aligned with that of the French Impressionists

³⁸³ Letter from Mina Arndt to her family, 21 October 1909.

³⁸⁴ U. Thieme & F. Becker, *Allgemeines Künstlerlexikon*, Leipzig, 1907, vol. V, p. 246.

³⁸⁵ Letter from Mina Arndt to her family, 21 October 1909.

and used a 'staccato' technique similar to that of Liebermann, von Uhde or Corinth.³⁸⁶ Her association with the latter is not well documented, but despite her reservations about the work produced by some of his students, Lovis Corinth (1858-1925)³⁸⁷ made a lasting impression on Arndt.

The years from 1909 until a stroke in December 1911 were the pinnacle of Corinth's career, selling, with the help of Paul Cassirer, most of his uncommissioned works straight from his studio and doing very well from his exhibits with the Secession. In 1910, he also exhibited with the Munich Secession, and at the Venice Biennale. A leader and one time president of the Berlin Secession, Corinth was also one of Berlin's most prominent art teachers of the time and therefore could not be ignored by Mina as a possible tutor. Having previously lived in Munich, Corinth had resettled in Berlin in 1901, lured there by the prospect of lucrative portrait commissions. By then in his mid-forties, his increasing sales and the earnings from his popular art school for women had made him a very wealthy man indeed. Well connected in Berlin's social circles, Corinth gained an even higher profile through his numerous publications and lectures on himself and art matters, including his 1908 teaching manual *Das Erlernen der Malerei* and the autobiographical *Legenden aus dem Künstlerleben* in 1910.

Corinth had opened his 'Malschule für Akt und Portrait' in October 1901, having taken over Walter Leistikow's studio at 48 Klopstockstrasse. From 1904 onwards, he conducted his classes in a rented teaching studio in nearby Händelstrasse.³⁸⁸ Most of his students were female, with only a few male students making up the numbers. The first exhibition of his student's work was held in early 1902,³⁸⁹ but no student registers remain today, nor records concerning further student exhibitions. It is well documented, however, that Corinth took his teaching very seriously:

Größere Fortschritte und eifriges Studieren an mir selbst konstatierte ich, als ich die geplante Malschule eröffnete...Ich fühlte den Beruf in mir Lehrer zu

³⁸⁶ See McConkey (1995), pp. 169-170.

³⁸⁷ Born in Tapiau/East Prussia, Corinth first attended the Kunstakademie in Königsberg from 1876 to 1880, and then headed for Munich, where he studied with Friedrich von Defregger and Ludwig von Löfftz. Subsequently he was influenced by the work of Wilhelm Leibl and Max Liebermann. In 1884 he exhibited at the Paris Salon, as the student of Bouguereau. At some stage he also became interested in the work of Courbet and Israels, the latter being something of a role model to Corinth's friend and teacher, Hermann Struck. With Struck, Corinth shared an admiration for Rembrandt, Frans Hals and Peter Paul Rubens, a painterly tradition already familiar to Mina Arndt through the work of Petrus van der Velden. Having lived in Berlin and Königsberg from 1887, Corinth returned to Munich in 1891, where he studied with Wilhelm Trübner and familiarised himself with the work of the German Symbolists, such as Arnold Böcklin, Max Klinger and Karl Stauffer-Bern. In 1890, he met Walter Leistikow, who remained a lifelong friend.

³⁸⁸ See Uhr, p. 132.

³⁸⁹ Wilhelmine Corinth, *Ich habe einen Lovis, keinen Vater...*, Berlin, 1992, p. 148.

sein, und damit täuschte ich mich nicht. Tatsächlich habe ich bis zum Ausbruch des Weltkrieges eine sehr große Menge von Schülern und Schülerinnen ausgebildet und kann mit Recht sagen, daß ich auch eine ziemliche Anzahl herangebildet habe, welche für die zukünftigen Zeiten tüchtige Menschen zu werden versprochen. Für mich war aber die Malschule zugleich ein Arbeiten an mir selbst. Nun wurde mir zuerst vieles klar, was meine Lehrer mir bereits früher begreiflich machen wollten. Fortwährend Modelle um mich zu sehen ist ebenfalls sehr lehrreich. Auf jeden Fall rate ich einem Künstler, seine letzte Vollendung durch Unterricht selbst zu erringen zu suchen.³⁹⁰

While there is general consent among Corinth scholars that he indeed profited from working from the life model alongside his students, few of his pupils ever reached the popularity of their teacher. Those who found access into the canon of 20th-century art history are all male, with August Macke perhaps the best known.³⁹¹ Only the names of some of his female students survive, the most famous of course, by virtue of becoming his wife, being Charlotte Berend (1880-1967).³⁹² Mina Arndt therefore rates as one of only a few female students of Corinth's who are known to have pursued an artistic career in their own right and who are still known today. She almost certainly was the only Australasian woman ever to have entered the teaching studios of Berlin at the time. Munich was a far more likely destination for colonial art students seeking training in Germany. The Bavarian capital could offer tuition at the Damenakademie (founded in 1884 and the largest such institution before WW1) and a number of respected private teaching studios. Moreover, at the nearby Neu-Dachau School women could work from the nude or study landscape painting in pleasant rural surroundings.

Corinth modelled his teaching practices closely on the lessons he himself received in

³⁹⁰ 'After I opened the planned art school, I noticed how my own art and study greatly progressed. I felt the profession of teaching in me, and I was not mistaken. Indeed, until the outbreak of the world war, I taught a great many male and female students, and I can rightly say that I educated a significant number, who had the potential to become capable people in future times. For me, the art school meant working to improve myself. Only now did I understand things which my former teachers had tried to make me understand. To constantly see models around me is also very educational. In any case, I recommend to the artist to seek to perfect himself through teaching.' Lovis Corinth, *Selbstbiographie*, Leipzig, reprinted 1993, p. 147.

³⁹¹ See Uhr, p. 132. Uhr also mentions Oskar Moll and Ewald Mataré to have been students of Corinth, but does not mention any of his female pupils apart from Charlotte Berend.

³⁹² Charlotte Berend was born in Berlin where she studied at the Staatliche Kunstschule and at the Unterrichtsanstalt des Berlin Kunstgewerbemuseums. She enrolled at Corinth's Malschule in 1901 and married him in 1903. They had two children, Thomas and Wilhelmine. She was a member of the Berlin Secession from 1906 and taught at a school of art in Berlin from 1927. She emigrated to the US in 1939, where she opened the Charlotte Berend School of Painting in Santa Barbara in 1943. She devoted her later years to the administration of Corinth's artistic legacy and compiled a catalogue raisonné of his work. See C. Berend-Corinth, *Die Gemälde von Lovis Corinth*, Munich, 1958. She also wrote extensively about her life with Corinth. See C. Berend-Corinth, *Mein Leben mit Lovis Corinth*, Munich, 1958. (Further contributing to the family's publications on Corinth was his son Thomas. See K.A. Schröder, *Lovis Corinth*, Munich, 1992, p. 225.] Charlotte Berend died in New York.

Königsberg, Munich and Paris, apparently 'offering firm but encouraging counsel, impatient only toward those who sought to impress him with technical virtuosity or willfully nurtured stylistic peculiarities.'³⁹³ Thus, his teaching manner resembled that of the Forbes. But, unlike Arndt's teachers in Newlyn, Corinth centred his lessons on the study of the life nude model, both male and female, stating in his manual that 'the model is the most important aid that the painter has at his disposal. He studies it during his years of training and relies on it when in his paintings he wants to translate the figures of his imagination into reality.'³⁹⁴ As he had learned himself at the Académie Julian, Corinth placed much emphasis on preliminary drawings, which should have further strengthened Arndt's own drawing skills.³⁹⁵

Corinth's painting style at the time was characterised by a marked lightening of his palette and looser handling of the paint. He was in many respects 'a painter's painter', as late as 1907 studying the works of Frans Hals and Rembrandt in Kassel.³⁹⁶ From there, Corinth's own paintings began to gain colour and intensity, as he increasingly concentrated on capturing the fleeting moment and the effect of light on local colour.³⁹⁷ In rapid succession, Corinth produced countless portraits and figure compositions as well as some still lifes and landscapes, his relaxed style of this period reverberating most obviously in the portrait studies Mina Arndt finished around 1909 -1914.

The subject of Mina Arndt's *The Red Scarf* (Cat. 6) models itself closely on numerous paintings by Corinth, in which he depicted his wife showing off a new scarf or hat, as in *Damenportrait mit lila Hut* (1912, fig. 29). This work may have very well inspired Arndt to produce her own version of a standing female wearing a striking hat, experimenting with the rapid, hatched brushstrokes practised by Corinth in rendering the figure. In the manner of Corinth, Arndt built up the background of her study with thick layers of paint, reducing the backdrop to a few simple elements - a curtain and perhaps a chair as support. Arndt's painting of hands also resembles that of her German teacher, simplified, but not as fluid, as seen in the example of Corinth's *Donna Gravida* (1909, fig. 30). But, despite such similarities, Arndt's work remains an anonymous studio piece, an occasion to study the effect of light on the face of a model, an experiment in colour, composition and brush work, whereas Corinth's painting of his wife betrays the close relationship he had with the sitter. Arndt's model appears distant, the composition on the whole static

³⁹³ Uhr, p. 133.

³⁹⁴ Ibid, p. 154, quoting in translation from L. Corinth, *Das Erlernen der Malerei*, 3d ed.; Berlin, 1920, p. 170.

³⁹⁵ For a few examples of Corinth's countless drawings see ibid., pp. 153 & 157.

³⁹⁶ Schröder, p. 214.

³⁹⁷ See ibid. for an extensive discussion of Corinth's development as a painter, especially his work as a 'German Impressionist'.

and awkward, as the young painter focused on coming to terms with a new painting technique. Yet the work is singular in Arndt's oeuvre, as it remained her only portrayal of an urbane, modern woman.

More assured, and reverting to the rural type of model Arndt preferred to use, is her portrait of a *Berlin Marketwoman*. Here she draws together all she had learned about painting thus far. The composition is simple, dispensing with unnecessary props and background detail. The brushwork is rich and varied, ranging from the coarse application of the dark background colour to the fluid rendering of the woman's face and body. As seen in Corinth's *Donna Gravida*, Arndt sets accents of blue and red, heightening the tonal range of her painting, thus bringing her model to life against the sombre, flatly coloured background. Strong highlights further accentuate Arndt's modelling of the woman's features, underlining an expression of stern authority and self-reliance. She takes a similar approach in two portraits of older men (Cat. 4 & 5), where her sitters' features are captured with broad, confident brushstrokes, with marked highlights setting the faces apart from the dark backgrounds. However, Arndt employs fewer colours in both paintings. The blackish green of her sitter's overcoat in *Portrait* (Cat. 4) flows into the grey background colour, the face is rendered in a few flesh tones with the shadows modelled in the dark hues of the background. The restricted palette underlines the stern asceticism and remoteness of both sitters, a method Arndt revisited in a few of her later portraits. (See for example Cat. 82 & 92)

Significantly, Arndt produced few still lifes during her years in Europe, reflecting the artistic preferences of her teachers. Corinth, too, neglected still life painting for much of his early career, but came to appreciate the genre's didactic possibilities when he took up teaching in the early 1900s. He used still life painting to encourage his students to consider different surface structures, juxtaposing flowers and fruit with glass objects or ceramics.³⁹⁸ Arndt's *Still life with Chrysanthemums* (Cat. 23) probably dates from her time in Berlin, the feathery, vigorously painted blooms contrasting with the tightly painted figurine of a crouching woman in the foreground. The animated brushwork of this study was not repeated in any of her later still lifes, but she would frequently return to a combination of flowers and figurines as a motif. (See for example Cat. 74 & 81).

In discussing Corinth as Arndt's teacher, one cannot overlook his predilection for the female nude. These he used in numerous allegorical paintings, biblical scenes (which around 1905 were quite popular with his audiences), and figure compositions such as

³⁹⁸ Uhr, p. 178.

Der Harem (1904, fig. 31) Recalling the work of Ingres, Bouguereau, Trübner and Anders Zorn, Corinth assembles four voluptuous female nudes, who in the absence of any narrative are posed solely for his own pleasure and that of his male audiences. The overwhelming presence of the female nude in Corinth's oeuvre, but relative scarcity of the subject in Arndt's supports the observations made in the previous chapter about the problematic nature of the female nude in the work of early 20th-century women artists: unlike Corinth, Arndt could not draw on a visual language concerning the female body which informed the work of male artists like Corinth. As has been mentioned, only one finished painting of a female nude by Arndt survives today and it is interesting to note that although the painting was produced in Newlyn, in pose and toning, her *Model* recalls earlier studies by Corinth, such as *Liegender Akt* (1899, fig. 32).

Also conspicuous, in a comparison with Corinth, is the almost total absence of self portraiture in Arndt's oeuvre. In stark contrast to Corinth, who recorded his appearance, mental state and role as artist, lover, husband and father throughout his life, Arndt did not care to depict herself as the artist heroine. She remains the hidden observer, her only known self-portrait a reflection in a vase, part of a still life dominated by a bunch of hydrangeas. This compares to a still life by Clara Peeters (c.1589-c.1657), which includes, reflected in a silver cup, a portrait of the artist holding her palette. Arndt may have been able to see this work in a private collection in Berlin during her time there.³⁹⁹ As mentioned in her letter, Arndt admired the ebullient and confident Corinth, but had some reservations about his school. Her first choice as a teacher was in fact a woman artist, her cousin Julie Wolfthorn (fig. 33):

What I want to do while here is to work with Julie, that is, if she can get perhaps 4 or 5 others to share model fees. I won't pay any more than I did in London. I love her style, it's so rational & beautiful tone & colour. She has been a Paris student & has never altogether lost the influence of both Whistler & Aman-Jean.⁴⁰⁰

Female art students in Germany, seeking an alternative to the teaching studios like the Corinth school, often went to Paris to study, as, for example, Clara Westhoff and Paula Modersohn-Becker did. On their return this must have marginalised them even more, given the patriotic tendencies in German art and art criticism at the time. But in Wolfthorn's case, works such as *Abend in der Mark* (fig. 34) were seen by contemporary critics as proof that her training in France had not diminished her ability to produce art

³⁹⁹ The painting, known as *Wunderkammer* (1612) is now in the Staatliche Kunsthalle, Karlsruhe. Before 1943, it is known to have been in the Benedict collection in Berlin. See P. H. Decoteau, *Clara Peeters*, Lingen, 1992, p. 179.

⁴⁰⁰ Letter from Mina Arndt to her family, 21 October 1909. See below no. 395.

truly German in its character.⁴⁰¹ Julie Wolfthorn therefore has to be considered something of an exception to the rule, as she was a French trained, professional female artist, who as early as 1905 enjoyed a national (and international) reputation as a portraitist and landscape painter.

Julie Wolfthorn (1868-1944) was the daughter of Louise Wolf, Bertha Beaver's niece⁴⁰² and was born Julie Wolf, in Thorn, West Prussia. She later added the name of her birth place to her surname. Like Mina Arndt's, hers was a cultured, middle-class family with strong interests in the arts. Her brother, Georg Wolf, became a sculptor,⁴⁰³ while Wolfthorn trained as a painter and graphic artist. She began her studies in the 1890s in Berlin and then moved to Paris, where she enrolled at the Académie Colarossi, as well as receiving tuition from two prominent portraitists, Courtois ⁴⁰⁴ and Aman-Jean⁴⁰⁵. Staying in France for several years, Wolfthorn continued her studies independently. Moving to rural retreats like Neuilly, she joined other painters working out-of-doors, and was often accompanied by her own model. Wolfthorn loved her time in France, her recollections taking on a similar tone to Arndt's poetic impressions of London.⁴⁰⁶ On her return to Berlin, Wolfthorn made the acquaintance of many of the city's most progressive

⁴⁰¹ See L. Schulze-Brück: *Die Malerin Julie Wolfthorn*, undated, unsourced article (SMBCA), p. 278: 'Dieses Bild ist von einer so echt deutschen Empfindung, daß die Befürchtung, Julie Wolfthorn möge durch ihre eingehenden Studien der Franzosen etwas von ihrer deutschen Eigenart verloren haben, vollkommen unberechtigt.' ('This picture is of such true German sentiment, that the concern that Julie Wolfthorn could have lost something of her German character during her intensive studies of the French is completely unfounded.')

⁴⁰² See Family Tree, Appendix I.

⁴⁰³ A small figurine of a crouching woman by Georg Wolf is still in the Manoy family collection today.

⁴⁰⁴ Gustave Courtois (1853-1924). Originally from Pusey (Haute-Saône), Courtois studied in Paris with Gerôme and Jeanneney and made his debut at the Paris Salon in 1875. In the 1880s and 1890s he became one of the most successful of all society portraitists in France, but also received an award for a history painting.

⁴⁰⁵ Edmond Francois Aman-Jean (1860-1936)was born in Chevry-Cossigny (Seine et Marne). As a pupil at the École Nationale des Beaux-Arts in Paris, he studied with Lehmann, Ernest Hébert and L.O. Mersen. A regular exhibitor at the Old Paris Salon from 1885, he also participated in the Salons of the Société Nationale des Beaux-Arts. He admired the work of Whistler, La Thangue and Sargent and at one time shared a studio with Seurat. Aman-Jean made a name for himself with decorative and original portraits, which at times betrayed symbolist tendencies. From him, Wolfthorn acquired a preference for a subdued, elegant palette, especially in her portraits of women, which are as refined as those produced by her teacher.

⁴⁰⁶ 'Nach der Arbeit schnell noch 'sur l'Imperiale' des Omnibus, um vom Pont neuf den Sonnenuntergang zu sehen: der Trocadero ist ein violettrosa Schemen, die Silhouette des Arc de triomphe aus Schleiern gewebt, führt direkt in den Himmel. Der Eiffelturm schleudert seine lichtgraue, schwankende Filigrannadel hoch in die Wolken hinein. Von dort oben siehst du das metallene Band der Seine, auf der die Schiffchen hin-und herflitzen, mit ihren grauen Steinbrücken die Stadt durchschneiden. ('After work a quick dash... on the bus to watch the sunset from the Pont Neuf: the Trocadero is a violet pink scheme, the outline of the Arc de Triomphe is woven from veils, leads directly to the sky. The Eiffel tower throws its light grey, swaying filigree needle high into the clouds. From up there, you can see the metal band of the Seine, its little boats scurrying back and forth, its grey stone bridges cutting the city apart.') Julie Wolfthorn, *Aus meiner Pariser Studienzeit*, in *Die Künstler-Selbsthilfe*, vol. 1, no. 2, April-May 1927, p. 34.

artists, writers and critics.⁴⁰⁷ As a graphic artist, Wolfthorn worked for the periodical *Die Jugend*, and in 1902 also designed a poster for *Vorwärts*, the official publication of the Social Democratic Party. As an admirer of French modern painting and influenced by Munch and Whistler, she not only participated in the exhibitions of the Berlin Secession, but also contributed regularly to the 'Große Berliner Kunstaustellung'. When she met her New Zealand cousin, Julie Wolfthorn was at the height of her career, acclaimed by local and foreign writers alike. From about 1904, she also ran a school for female art students (Schülerinnenatelier), as referred to in Mina Arndt's letter.⁴⁰⁸

In 1909, Wolfthorn was apparently working for much of the time in Verre, on the Dutch Island of Walchern. Landscape painting had become her focus about four years earlier, and two examples of her fluid, vigorous landscape style are still in the Arndt family collection (fig. 35 & 36). As a figure painter, Wolfthorn became particularly known for her portraits of women and many of her works were published in women's magazines of the day. Her approach to portraiture in particular, and the way she was seen to conduct herself as a professional female artist, presented Arndt with another significant female role model, arguably more urbane and modern than Elizabeth Stanhope Forbes or Laura Knight. As a portraitist, Wolfthorn emphasised that it was not her task to deliver photographic accuracy, but that she was most interested in capturing the spirit, the character of her sitters. She would attempt to put her model at ease, before she did a number of preparatory sketches in order to work out the composition and lighting of the final work.

'La mise-en place c'est la chose principale' sagte mein Lehrer in Paris, und das also ist vorderhand das Allerwichtigste. Neben der Arbeit geht eine lebhaft Unterhaltung her. Nur wenige kennen das Gesicht in völliger Ruhe, erst durch das Mienenspiel wird es ähnlich für den Mitmenschen, denn so ist er es gewohnt zu sehen....die Wiedergabe der Form ist selbstverständlich. Jeder kann lernen, einen Kopf, den er vor sich sieht, zu zeichnen oder zu malen. Ein Kunstwerk aber wird das Portrait erst durch den schöpferischen Geist des Künstlers, der im wechselnden Ausdruck das wesentliche zu erfassen und festzuhalten versteht und in Verbindung damit Farbe und

⁴⁰⁷ She counted among her friends the Muthesius family and was also close to the writer Richard Dehmel and his wife Ida. Ida Dehmel, often referred to as Frau Isi, was the subject of a number of portraits by Julie Wolfthorn. Ida Dehmel later became the founder of the Künstlerinnenverband.

⁴⁰⁸ Unfortunately, the archive of the Verein Berliner Künstlerinnen, VdBK, holds no material relating to Wolfthorn's Schülerinnenatelier.

Thus Wolfthorn, like Arndt, was keen to move beneath the outward appearance of her subject matter, a process which she considered to one the most rewarding aspects of her work,⁴¹⁰ regardless of the age of her sitters. For apart from portraits of women, Wolfthorn also liked to depict children, at times in images not unlike those produced by Elizabeth Armstrong Forbes. Wolfthorn valued her small sitters for their harmless, relaxed and trusting nature - and the promise they carried with them of the adult-to-be.

Am leichtesten kommt man dem Kinde nahe, denn es gibt sich harmlos, wie es ist und wer sich darauf versteht, kann schon in dem Kleinsten den zukünftigen Menschen erkennen. Es hat mir oft Freude gemacht, zu sehen wie die Menschen sich nach langen Jahren noch in diesen Bildern wiederfanden mit all ihren erst jetzt entwickelten Eigenschaften. Ich betrachte es deshalb als eine schöne Aufgabe, Kinder jedes [sic] Alters zu portraituren und mich dabei in die Eigenart eines jeden zu vertiefen.⁴¹¹

In her portraits of children she therefore put less emphasis on sentimental effect, but endeavoured to treat them as characters in their own right, good examples being *Kinderbildnis* (fig. 37) or *Abend in der Mark*. Here her art aligns herself closely to that of

409 " 'La mise-en place c'est la chose principale', my teacher in Paris used to say, so that is of utmost importance. Alongside work, you conduct a lively conversation. Only few know a face in a state of complete stillness, only while it is constantly changing expressions does it become familiar to the next person, this is how one is used to see a face...the rendering of form is self evident. Everybody can learn to draw or paint a head he sees in front of him. The portrait only becomes an art work through the creative spirit of the artist, who knows how to recognize and capture an essential aspect of all the individual expressions and who knows how combine this with colour and composition in a harmonious whole.' Julie Wolfthorn, quoted in *Moderne Frauentypen*, in *Westermanns Monatshefte*, vol. 73, no. 869, January 1929, pp. 482-483.

410 As Julie Wolfthorn explained further: 'Ich habe es immer als meine Hauptaufgabe betrachtet, neben dem künstlerischen das psychologische Moment in meinen Bildnissen besonders zu betonen. Dazu gelangte ich mehr auf dem Wege der Intuition als durch bewußte Gedankenarbeit. Oft habe ich das Gefühl, als malte nicht ich, sonder ein anderer in mir, so daß ich mitunter überrascht vor meiner eignen Arbeit stehe. Das sind für mich die glücklichsten Augenblicke des Schaffens.' ('I have always considered it to be my main task to emphasize the artistic aspect of an image alongside its psychological one. This I achieved more through intuition, rather than conscious intellectual effort. Often I have the feeling, as if it wasn't me who was painting, but somebody else in me, so that I am often surprised by my own work. Those are for me the happiest moments of creating...') *Ibid.*, p. 484.

411 'It's easiest to become close to a child, because it conducts itself in a harmless manner, and those who understand this, can recognize in the smallest child the future person. It has often given me pleasure to see how these people, even after many years still recognized themselves in such images. I therefore consider it to be a wonderful task to portray children of all ages and to engage deeply with each individual personality.' *Ibid.*, p. 483.

German-born Louise Breslau (1856-1927),⁴¹² whose work was, incidentally, published alongside Wolfthorn's in Walter Sparrow's *Women Painters of the World* (1905).⁴¹³ A successful and celebrated artist, Breslau had made name for herself with portraits of unflinching realism, as illustrated in *Anais* (n.d.) and the kind of psychological portraiture (especially of children), which Wolfthorn herself strived for. Thus Breslau's painting of the small, self-possessed *Little Girl with White Dog* (1891) evokes a similar emotional appeal as Wolfthorn's untitled portrait of a seated girl (fig. 38), these similarities once more attesting to Wolfthorn's affinities with French art.

Discussing Wolfthorn's more formal portraiture, the point was made again that, despite all the years she had spent in France, the artist had even here maintained a particular German character in her work - the French influence merely enhancing the formal qualities of her paintings:

Sie [Wolfthorn] hat gar vieles von dem, was das beste der französischen Maler ist. Ihre Frauenportraits haben jene pikante Grazie, jenen undefinierbaren Schick, der den Franzosen eignet. Aber die melancholische Lieblichkeit, die der Hauptzug in vielen ihrer Schöpfungen ist, ist doch wieder echt deutsch.⁴¹⁴

Comments such as these illustrate once more the ideological task German art was given in the Empire, namely to give expression to a national character or identity, which, as far as visual art was concerned, had its roots in early 19th-century Romantic painting. In line with the official cultural politics of the Wilhelmine period, Wolfthorn's work was also scrutinised and discussed along gendered lines. Thus she was declared a true woman, looking at the world with the eyes of a woman:

Sie malt mit der Hand der Frau aus der Seele der Frau. Sie will auch gar nichts anderes. Sie schaut mit Frauenaugen der Natur in ihre tiefsten Geheimnisse und dem Menschen auf den Grund seiner Seele.⁴¹⁵

⁴¹² Louise Breslau was born in Munich, but moved to Zurich with her family at a young age. Her father died when she was seven, making it necessary for Breslau to earn eventually her own living. She received the majority of her art training in Paris, where she studied at the Académie Julian, alongside Marie Bashkirtseff. She first exhibited at the Salon in 1879, and in 1881 became a member of the Société Nationale des Beaux Arts. She travelled widely in France and Europe, but eventually settled in Neuilly (where Wolfthorn resided while studying in Paris) with Madeleine Zillhardt. A painter of portraits and genre scenes (mostly depicting scenes of middle-class domestic life, which focused on women and children), she later made a name for herself for her psychologically revealing portraits. Later in her career she began to use pastels, and began to depict animals and flowers. She became a celebrated artist during her lifetime, honoured with several one-woman shows in Zurich and Paris, and was even awarded the Chevalier de la Légion d'honneur.

⁴¹³ See W. Shaw Sparrow, *Women Painters of the World*, London 1905, p. 304.

⁴¹⁴ 'She has so many of the best aspects of the French painters. Her portraits of women have a delicate grace, this undefinable elegance, which is part of being French. But the melancholic sweetness, which characterises many of her creations, is again truly German.' Luise Schulze-Brück, Julie Wolfthorn, in *Die Weite Welt*, vol. 22, no. 4, 19 September, 1902, p. 110.

⁴¹⁵ 'She paints with the hand of a woman from the soul of a woman. She doesn't want anything else. She looks with a woman's eyes at nature's deepest secrets and deeply into the human soul.' Ibid.

Being a woman and therefore believed to be intuitively in tune with nature and the human soul, was identified as one, if not *the* major reason Wolfthorn was able to produce her intimate landscapes (described as 'Stimmungsbilder') and her psychologically revealing portraits. By contrast, Arndt valued the rational thought behind Wolfthorn's work, admiring (as mentioned in her letter) its formal aspects, a sense of colour and line which she considered beautiful.

Where it suited her subject, Wolfthorn drew quite strongly on her knowledge of the work of Whistler, but also on Aman-Jean, particularly so in her portraits of intellectuals, writers and artists. A good example of this is her *Bildnis der Schriftstellerin H. Lachmann* (n.d., fig. 39), which echoes the decorative, dreamy appeal of Aman-Jean's seated portrait *Thadée Caroline Jaquet* (c.1892). Aman-Jean, an admirer of Puvis de Chavannes and Gustave Moreau, pursued an interest in an imagery which reached beyond the empirical (the focus of Impressionism). From Aman-Jean, Wolfthorn therefore not only adopted a decorative use of line and colour, but his work also increased her interest in portraiture of an emotive and at times mystical quality. As mentioned above, Wolfthorn consistently endeavoured to capture more than just the physical appearance of her sitters or their public status. Her portrait of Rudolf Klein was even credited with representing the character of a modern individual as such:

Bei aller Schärfe der Porträtähnlichkeit, bei aller aufs schärfste herausgearbeiteten Eigenart dieser Persönlichkeit stellt es doch zugleich einen Typus, eine ganze Zeitströmung so unverkennbar dar, daß man es mit Fug und Recht Bildnis eines 'Modernen' oder eines 'Neuen' nennen könnte. ...Wer ein solches Bild malen kann, darf den Anspruch erheben, unseren besten zugezählt zu werden.⁴¹⁶

The picture in question, as well as the portrait of her brother, the sculptor Georg Wolf (fig. 40), also reveals some of Wolfthorn's interest in the haunting, melancholic art of Edvard Munch. Some of her portraits of women produced around that time received similar treatment and, at times, as in *Die Fechterin* (fig. 41), approached the Whistlerian work of (French trained) Romaine Brooks. Before 1914, Arndt moved closest to this kind of tonal treatment in her own portraiture with *Elizabeth*. Betraying her colonial upbringing and her training with the Newlyn artists, as well as the influences of Corinth's painterly approach, her own portraits emulated the work of Wolfthorn in subject matter and emotional appeal, but not in style. Their art practices are most closely aligned in images

⁴¹⁶ 'Despite the sharpness of the resemblance between portrait and sitter, despite the sharpness of the individual personality, which the artist has captured, it nevertheless represents a certain type, a certain era in such an obvious manner, that we can call this with some justification a portrait of a 'modern' or a 'new' [type of person]... whoever can paint such an image, can demand to be counted among the best.' Ibid., p. 111.

of young girls and children, portrait drawings and landscape sketches.

In 1910, Arndt produced an untitled painting of a child (Cat. 8), which in comparison to her other European canvases appears more like an oil sketch than a finished painting. It captures in quick broad brushstrokes and some loosely sketched outlines the image of a small sitter, seemingly lost in conversation with a teddy bear. The relaxed pose and cool palette, continuing Arndt's preference for white, grey, blue and brown merging into black, contribute to the unsentimental appeal of the image. It marks the beginning of Arndt's continued engagement with children as subject matter, which she most successfully incorporated into her graphic oeuvre. In this instance, her painting responded to a Romantic notion of innocent childhood.

As alluded to in the previous chapter, most female artists in the 19th - and early 20th-centuries felt compelled to incorporate children into their figural subject matter, responding to wider social expectations of them as women, mothers and wives. Therein, many women artists, as for example Briton Kate Greenaway or American Mary Cassatt, dedicated themselves 'to perfecting the image of Romantic childhood',⁴¹⁷ which had first been popularised by such artists as Sir Joshua Reynolds and Thomas Gainsborough. Enlightenment notions of childhood as a time of innocence and purity in the early 20th-century came under pressure following the advent Freudian psychology. Arndt, like Wolfthorn, therefore responded to an increasing awareness or belief in childhood as a psychologically formative period in trying to reveal the nascent character of her young sitters. Thus in Arndt's untitled portrait of a young girl (Cat. 18) the seriousness of her small model is being contrasted and thus highlighted by the grinning grimace of the doll she is holding. *Plaits* (Cat. 182) or *Young Girl in Motueka* (Cat. 183) are more serene and in a lighter mood, similar to Wolfthorn's pastel *Magdalene Grünberg* (fig. 42), but all three of Arndt's portraits of young girls lack the directness of Wolfthorn's works, suggesting that she had difficulties engaging with her models on a personal level in the way Wolfthorn liked to do.

While Mina Arndt specifically wanted to study the figure with her cousin, Wolfthorn's and Arndt's landscapes make for particularly interesting comparison. Around the time of Arndt's stay in Germany, Wolfthorn produced numerous, intimate views of a domesticated countryside around the Hiddensee and surroundings and some beach scenes. In composition and technique, Wolfthorn usually working with oil paints on card, sketching country lanes, cottages and fields, these images find their equivalent in Arndt's

⁴¹⁷ Higonnet, p. 9.

later depictions of her Motueka environment. Wolfthorn's oil sketch of a mountain scene with flowering trees in the foreground once again betrays Whistler's (and Aman-Jean's) influences in its decorative use of colour, as does Mina Arndt's pastel *Spring* (Cat. 227). Both painters eschew more spectacular scenery for more 'commonplace' motifs - scenes one could encounter during an afternoon's stroll, reflecting their familiarity and delight in their surroundings. Thus Wolfthorn produced a number of sketchy views of coastal landscapes with and without farm buildings, which correspond to Arndt's oil sketches and pastels of Motueka and its environs, as seen for example in a comparison of Wolfthorn's *In den Dünen* (c.1910, fig. 43) and Arndt's *Landscape, Motueka* (Cat. 76). However, Arndt produced few landscapes before her return to New Zealand. If she did study with Wolfthorn, the actual lessons must have centred on the figurative genres, possibly involving more work from the nude.

To what degree women should be allowed to work from the nude model remained a vexed question in German art circles until well into the 20th-century. As mentioned above, women wanting to progress in figure drawing had to either join privately organised life classes or liberal teaching studios like Corinth's art school for women. Wolfthorn herself would have received most of her tuition in life drawing in France and was already exhibiting studies from the nude in 1901. Her more conservative critics, although they found much to commend in her landscapes, were less complimentary of her depictions of the nude:

Die Malerinnen Gostenoble, v. Fink und Julie Wolf-thorn [sic] sind durch zahlreiche Arbeiten vertreten; Landschaften und meist nackte Männer, Jüngling- und Frauengestalten. Je weniger unsere modernen Malerinnen das Nackte kennen, studiert haben, es zeichnen und malen können, desto leidenschaftlicher befleißigen sie sich seiner Darstellung; auch der männlichen Gestalten, ohne auch nur die winzigste, lokalbeschränkte Verhüllung. Sie schwelgen ähnlich an diesen Vorstellungen, wie manch moderne Dichtungen... Julie Wolf-Thorn stellte einige aner kennenswerte Landschaften aus, unter denen besonders die im Abendsonnenschein liegende weite Flachlandschaft und die Villa Borghese in ähnlicher Beleuchtung die besten sind, daß schön gelungene Pastelbildnis einer Römerin mit prächtigem Charakterkopf, leider aber auch mehrere Bilder mit nackten Gestalten... aus, die in Zeichnung und Farbgebung gleich verunglückt, gleich wenig zum Ruhme der Künstlerin beitragen dürften.⁴¹⁸

⁴¹⁸ 'The painters Gostenoble, v. Fink and Julie Wolf-thorn are represented by numerous works; landscapes and mainly naked men, images of boys and women. The less our modern women painters know the naked, the less they have studied it or can draw and paint it, the more they busy themselves with the depiction of the naked; even that of male figures, without the tiniest, local bit of drapery. They lose themselves in such imaginations, as do some modern poems... Julie Wolf-thorn exhibits some worthwhile landscapes, the open flat landscapes at sunset and the Villa Borghese in similar lighting conditions being the best among these, as is the well executed pastel portrait of a Roman woman with a gorgeous character head, unfortunately also several pictures with naked bodies, ... which lack both in drawing and colouring and should contribute little to the reputation of the artist. *Königlich Privilegierte Zeitung*, no. 177, 17 May 1901 (no page ref.)

A comment such as this serves as a good example of the kind of critical attitude German women artists encountered as they ventured into the male-dominated sphere of nude figure painting, confirming earlier comments concerning female art practice in the 19th- and early 20th-centuries. This critic does not question the reason why German women artists might not have studied the nude as much as their male equivalents, nor take into account the training in life drawing they could have acquired elsewhere. Neither does he (or she) realize or acknowledge why women would want to exhibit nudes, for example wanting to join the ranks of their male colleagues in an extremely lucrative part of the art market. Few nudes by Wolfthorn survive today, and attitudes as exhibited by this German critic surely contributed further to the relative scarcity of nudes in Arndt's work. She most probably sought to undertake life drawing classes with Wolfthorn to improve her figurative work in general. Herself an accomplished printmaker, Wolfthorn might have also encouraged Mina Arndt to develop her printmaking skills under the tuition of Secession artist and fellow member of Berlin's large circle of Jewish intellectuals and artists, Hermann Struck (1876-1944).

In fact, Mina Arndt could have first met Struck, an elected member of the Royal Society of Painter-Etchers and Engravers, while he was visiting London in 1907.⁴¹⁹ They had mutual acquaintances among the London Jewry, such as fellow artist Solomon J. Solomon. By then, Struck had the reputation of being one of the finest printmakers in Germany and was a generous, enthusiastic and tireless teacher of his metier, a longstanding Secession member and a close friend of Lovis Corinth.⁴²⁰ To gauge the personal and professional influence he had on the young Mina Arndt, it is important to introduce the public and private persona of Struck.

Hermann Struck was born in Berlin into a devout and wealthy Jewish family. Struck's father was the descendant of a highly respected East German Rabbi.⁴²¹ Not surprisingly, all of the Struck children received a strictly orthodox Jewish education, which included frequent lessons in Hebrew and biblical history. Showing a considerable interest in his Talmud studies, Hermann Struck was destined to become a Rabbi himself. However, with the financial support of his parents, an even greater interest in the arts finally led him to five years of study at the Königlichen akademischen Hochschule für die bildenden

⁴¹⁹ According to his biographer Jane Rusel, Struck visited London in 1902, 1907, 1910 and 1913. See J. Rusel, *Hermann Struck (1876-1944) Das Leben und graphische Werk eines jüdischen Künstlers*, PhD Thesis in Art History, Johannes Gutenberg-Universität, Mainz, 1994.

⁴²⁰ Corinth produced several portraits of Struck, the last one depicting Struck in army uniform sometime during the war. (Munich, Städtische Galerie im Lehnbach Haus)

⁴²¹ In 1869, David Solomon Struck himself was co-founder of the Adass Jisroel Community, also known as 'Israelitische Synagogengemeinde'. Hermann Struck's uncle, the Jewish scholar Abraham Berliner, taught at the 'Rabbinerseminar' (Rabbi School) in Berlin.

Künste in Berlin.

He studied with drawing master Konrad Böse, who insisted on the careful observation of nature, an approach Struck later came to appreciate as a fundamental aspect of his artistic training. In his final two years as a student of the Akademie, Struck elected to attend the courses in landscape painting, portraiture and printmaking - interests, as has been shown, he shared with Mina Arndt. Although Struck referred to himself as a painter throughout his life, he was best known and worked most consistently as a graphic artist. At the turn of the century, Berlin had much to offer a young graphic artist.

Following artistic trends in both France and England, where the art of printmaking gained increased popularity from the mid - to late 19th-century, artists such as Max Klinger and Karl Stauffer-Bern introduced the concept of engraving as an independent means of artistic expression to German audiences in the 1870s and 1880s. 'Etching clubs' were formed in a number of German centres, and a number of influential periodicals, such as the *Zeitschrift für Bildende Kunst*, included examples of original etchings and lithographs in their late 19th-century editions. Specialist publishers not only included prints in elaborately illustrated books, but also put out limited editions of folders and single prints. Arndt herself must have been familiar with these European developments before leaving New Zealand from publications such as *The Studio* and *The Magazine of Art*. New Zealand artists were quick to respond to the emergence of 'Black and White' exhibitions in England and on the Continent by holding similar exhibitions, usually in winter and as a pendant to the much larger annual art society shows.

Still, little would have prepared Arndt for the wealth and scope of graphic art being produced in early 20th-century Europe. One of the best known artists in Germany at the time, Käthe Kollwitz, produced many widely publicised print cycles portraying the often dismal plight of the German working classes.⁴²² Struck himself began exhibiting the annual 'Große Kunstausstellung' in Berlin 1899, as well as showing with a group exhibition at the Galerie Eduard Schulte that same year. He gained in reputation when in 1901 the *Zeitschrift für bildende Kunst* first published one of his original etchings, the head of an old man, *Greisenkopf*, of 1900. It was for similar subjects that Arndt received her most favourable reviews, and *Old Jew's Head* (Cat. 278) was her only work purchased for a public collection during her lifetime (National Gallery of NSW, Sydney). By contrast, Struck enjoyed such official recognition throughout his career, his works

⁴²² Two drawings by Arndt, produced before 1914, echo in their emotional appeal the graphic work of Kollwitz. (See Cat. 109 & 110). However, this kind of work is rare in Arndt's oeuvre and does not warrant any further speculation about a possible influence the work of Kollwitz might have had on Arndt.

being purchased for public collections from 1900 or 1901 onwards. In 1912, the writer Georg Hermann stated that there was hardly a public or private collection in Germany which did not include a work by Struck.⁴²³ As early as 1911 Arnold Fortlage and Karl Schwarz, in collaboration with Paul Cassirer, published a catalogue of works (Werkkatalog) by Hermann Struck.⁴²⁴ Thus, when Mina Arndt met him, he was one of the most successful graphic artists working in Germany at the time, and in his teaching studio she could have encountered some artists who today are better known than Struck himself: Lovis Corinth, Marc Chagall, Lesser Ury,⁴²⁵ Max Liebermann and Max Slevogt. Feminist art historical research in Germany might eventually name some female students he had while living in Berlin, but so far, apart from Arndt herself, the only other female artist Struck is known to have taught is Anna Ticho, one of his students in Palestine. (May Manoy's belief that Struck only rarely took pupils might have been derived from the fact that he rarely took on *female* students, despite the fact that he was known as a 'ladies' man'.) In any case, Hermann Struck had an extensive knowledge of printmaking techniques and he was keen to pass on his technical expertise whenever possible.⁴²⁶ Struck's studio also attracted collectors, art enthusiasts, writers, poets, musicians and fellow Zionists, which surely provided much artistic and intellectual stimulation for Arndt.⁴²⁷

Struck as a teacher almost certainly did not work in an outwardly authoritarian way, although he lived in and perpetuated a male dominated art world, and as such subscribed to a notion of the male artist as hero. He insisted that every artist should cultivate an individual artistic expression, befitting their personal cultural context:

Fashions and vogues always pass, but there are eternal values in the individuality of every artist. If someone sings a song, I don't care how loud or how low it is, but it must be his own song, his own melody; we must receive our law from the soil of our country with its characteristic lines, and from the atmosphere of the sky. Artists must free themselves from foreign influences

⁴²³ Rusel, p. 15.

⁴²⁴ A. Fortlage & K. Schwarz, *Das graphische Werk von Hermann Struck*, Berlin, 1911.

⁴²⁵ Lesser Ury (1862-1937) was a Berlin based painter of 'urban Naturalism', who incorporated Whistlerian influences in his work. See J. Seyppel, *Lesser Ury: Der Maler der alten City*, Berlin, 1987.

⁴²⁶ 'I can say with absolute certainty that this man is never, not even in the completion of a masterpiece, as happy as when he helps an aspiring artist in the mastery of a detail, or succeeds in driving home to a layman a point in art appreciation or art philosophy. Struck is a born teacher.' Rusel, quoting Morris Lee Jacobs: Hermann Struck and Jewish Art, in: *B'nai Brith Magazine*, July 1928, p. 346.

⁴²⁷ Rusel, quoting K. Schwarz, *Der Künstler Struck*, in *Jüdische Rundschau*. (Berlin), No.19, Vol.41, March 1936, p. 3: 'Sein Berliner Atelier war seinerzeit ein Treffpunkt aller künstlerisch interessierter Kreise: von Kollegen, die seinen Rat suchten, von Sammlern, Kunstjüngern, Schriftstellern, Dichtern und Musikern, nicht zuletzt von den vielen zionistischen Freunden...' ('His studio was then the meeting place of all artistic circles: of colleagues, who sought his advice, of collectors, disciples of art, writers, poets and musicians and last, but not least, of his Zionist friends.')

and 'isms' and seek their material from the soil.⁴²⁸

Struck's own statement, then, echoes the critical comments quoted earlier with regards to the work of Julie Wolfthorn, which were eager to emphasise the specifically German aspects of her paintings. But his opinions are also indicative of a lingering reluctance by German artists to copy merely the methods and content of recent French art, and in particular Impressionism, which in the eyes of many German artists lacked imagination and emotional content. A resurgence of early 18th-century Romanticism saw German artists of the early modern period once again emphasise individual feeling, spirituality and imagination in their work, resulting most famously in the anti-naturalistic work of the Expressionists of Die Brücke and Der Blaue Reiter.⁴²⁹ By contrast, and arguably more in line with the cultural politics of Imperial Germany, Struck supported the development of a truly German art⁴³⁰ combining romantic individualism with Naturalism (in the tradition of the Barbizon painters) or rather, an 'earthy' Impressionism. Indeed, if Struck discussed indeed such ideas with Arndt, statements like the one above go some way to explain why she turned towards the landscape genre following her return to New Zealand. While working with Struck, however, she concentrated on figurative works, drawing on his extensive knowledge of the history of printmaking.

Struck advanced his knowledge of the etching process to a wider audience with the publication of his book *Die Kunst des Radierens* (1908), which in turn increased the number of artists turning to him for technical advice. Mina Arndt may have well seen and used the manual from then on. Further editions were published in 1912, 1919, 1920 and 1923. Every edition contained original prints by a variety of contemporary artists, including Munch, Liebermann and Zorn, often depicting a Jewish subject. Furthermore, Struck's book introduced his readership to works of other printmakers of six centuries, discussing all the technical aspects of etching in the manner of a practical, step-by-step manual for beginners. He also described the associated techniques of aquatinta (or vernis mou), as well as woodcut and lithography.

Attached to the actual manual, Struck introduced short biographies of some of the printmakers whose work he considered as part of his discussion of the principles and methods of printmaking. Apart from becoming a standard publication on printmaking at

⁴²⁸ Rusel, p. 113.

⁴²⁹ For a discussion of Romanticism in Western art see: R. Rosenblum, *Modern Painting and the Northern Romantic Tradition*, London, 1975.

⁴³⁰ Sadly, his rhetoric foreshadows the kind of nationalist doctrine which later forbade the German Jewry to consider itself German, leading to the death of Wolfthorn at Theresienstadt. Struck himself immigrated to Palestine in the 1920s.

the time, his book was also considered 'a good read'. A review published in the *New York Times* in 1912 stated that

his book aside from its importance to the practical student of etching, is a fine little demonstration of the interplay of intellectual and emotional satisfactions in the artistic mind. Our aesthetic experience takes in many forms of delight, and Herr Struck proves himself a rare critic who can enter with zest upon their origin technical methods without making the assumption that the method is higher than the aim.⁴³¹

The fact that Struck was an avid writer should have attracted Arndt even more to this prominent Berlin artist, for she had a lifelong interest in literature, especially poetry, herself.

Struck was fortunate enough that his family's wealth as well as personal success early on his career allowed him to work free of any financial pressure. He turned to subjects he personally favoured and could also afford to travel extensively. He not only visited Holland, Belgium, France, Great Britain, Denmark, Sweden, Italy, Greece, and Switzerland, but also went further afield, to Palestine, Egypt, North America and Cuba. He thus gained a cosmopolitan view of the world, recording his impressions en route in the form of pencil sketches, which he later worked up in his etchings and lithographs. It is therefore not surprising that much of his graphic oeuvre is made up of landscapes. Equally numerous are his portraits, which more often than not depict 'charakteristische Volkstypen', ethnic types in general, and Jews in particular. In these, and in the numerous portraits of famous contemporaries, he concentrated on what his biographer called the 'Physiognomie und Haltung' of his sitters. Like Corinth and Wolfthorn, Struck was most interested in capturing and expressing the individual personalities of his models, a feature of Arndt's drawings which later attracted consistent critical comment. However, unlike Arndt, Struck rarely showed people in relation to their environment or engaged in any particular activity.

Being an intense observer, Struck preferred to depict situations and scenes he saw around him, avoiding mythological or allegorical themes. This Arndt largely adhered to herself. However, she produced one etching entitled *Orpheus' Lute* (Cat. 292). Struck, as a supporter of German 'Impressionism', was less interested in the anecdotal and focused on the formal, 'colouristic' impressions of any situation, while avoiding any heightened means of artistically rendering these impressions. At the same time, throughout his career, he concentrated on a relatively narrow range of subjects, exploring the limits of

⁴³¹ *New York Times*, 18 August 1912, p. 15, quoted in Rusel, p. 126.

expression in countless variations of a theme. The same is true for Arndt. Portraiture, landscape and still-life painting dominate her oeuvre, but in the course of her career, she employed a wide range of media in her exploration of these themes. Where Struck remained first and foremost a printmaker, Arndt worked as painter and graphic artist, printmaker and pastellist. Both however, remained largely conservative in their choice of artistic 'role models'.

Early on in his training, Struck developed a particular affinity for the etchings of Rembrandt and other etchers of historic significance, such as Goya. It is most likely that he recommended to Arndt the study of Rembrandt, resulting in her four known etchings after this artist. Arndt herself valued her Rembrandt copies enough to submit one of them, *The Beggarwoman* (Cat. 269), to the Salon of 1913.⁴³² Similarly, Struck may have also directed her attention towards the etchings by Leibl. These were published repeatedly during his lifetime, as well as posthumously and some were also included in later editions of *Die Kunst des Radierens*.⁴³³ Struck also admired the art of Jozef Israels and Whistler, representing two artistic traditions Arndt both knew and liked and had been made aware of during her training in Cornwall. As mentioned earlier, Struck, despite the fact that he instructed a number of Germany's younger artists in his print making studio, was not influenced by any of the modern movements in German art of the time, such as Expressionism, Fauvism, Cubism or Abstraction. The same is true for Arndt, whose idea of modernism seemed to have been exemplified by Corinth's and Oppenheimer's brand of German Impressionism and Wolfthorn's interpretations of Whistler and Aman-Jean, a combined influence which may have dissuaded her from experimenting with more modern means of artistic expression. In Struck's case, his affinity with German Impressionism marks the endpoint of a stylistic development in his art, which can be traced from the late 1890s to the early 1900s.

The tonal handling of his early etchings betrays Struck's own training as a painter. He developed the image from areas of dark tone, wherein the effect of the single line is cancelled out by bundling parallel lines of varying thickness and density. By 1902,

⁴³² Letter from Mina Arndt to her family, 10 February 1913. Arndt owned an etching by Rembrandt (a self portrait of the artist), pirated from one of the artist's plates (priv. coll., Wellington).

⁴³³ See, for example, J. Mayr, *Wilhelm Leibl, sein Leben und sein Schaffen*, Berlin, 1907. Arndt produced two charcoal drawings after etchings by Leibl (see Cat. 118 & 119). One of these, *Alter Bauer mit Stock* (c. 1875) appeared in the 1923 edition of Struck's *Die Kunst des Radierens*, p. 240. For a recent appraisal of Leibl's printmaking oeuvre, see F. Billeter, *Zur Druckgraphik Wilhelm Leibls*, in E. Ruhmer (ed.) *'Leibl als Vorbild', Wilhelm Leibl zum 150. Geburtstag*, (exh. cat.), Munich and Cologne, 1994, pp. 531-540. Significantly, Arndt focused her studies of Leibl on his rendering of hands, which he used throughout his oeuvre to accentuate the character and mood of his sitters. The art of Leibl, an assured draughtsman, may have also appealed to Arndt because of his German peasant subject matter and his support of the Whistlerian concept of 'Art for Art's sake'.

however, etchings such as *Auf Bornholm* and *Dänisches Jagdschloß* show a reduction of the lines, hinting at a new approach to the medium. Although Struck remained concerned with achieving a soft, tonal, painterly effect in his etchings for some time, he soon dispensed with the dark background and resolved to organise his etchings in a similar manner to his drawings, avoiding all unnecessary detail. The stylistic development in Struck's graphic art was paralleled by his continued exploration and increasing mastery of a variety of printmaking techniques, combining diamond point, softground and aquatinta.⁴³⁴ Struck's awareness and enjoyment of the expressive linear and tonal aspects of etching would have been noted by Arndt, who experimented with a variety of etching techniques herself, including vernis mou, or soft ground. Here it is interesting to note that Jewish subject matters, with few exceptions, appear only in her prints. The same is true for Struck's coverage of Jewish subjects.

Struck's Jewish imagery consisted in the main of depictions of religious ceremonies, of people at prayer or reading, and of Jewish 'character heads.' It must have been Struck's portraiture, namely his 'character heads' which most impressed Arndt, as this is the only type of Jewish subject she herself introduced in her work. Struck himself favoured the expressive faces of old Jewish men or Jewish patriarchs, whom he pictured as heads or in half length portraits. He used details like long beards, curls across the temples and the 'Kippa', the traditional Jewish cap, to underline the Jewish character of his sitters. (fig. 44 & 45) These compare closely to Arndt's *The Old Jew's Head* and untitled portrait of a Jewish man (Cat. 275). Both images also capture the melancholic introspection characteristic of many of Struck's Jewish sitters.

Thematically, Struck's portraits tie in well with the kind of character portraiture that Arndt remained interested in and became known for once she returned to New Zealand. In the context of her career, her Jewish character heads stand alongside portraits of fishing folk, women, mothers and children, motifs which frequently appear in her prints. However, the fact that Jewish character heads and other Jewish subjects do not feature more prominently in her oeuvre might relate to the fact that Arndt, as a Jew born and raised in New Zealand, had not personally experienced any consistent form of anti-Semitism. While her mother and members of her extended family in Germany may have told her about the oppression suffered by Jews in most central European countries, she herself had no personal experience of the Ghetto, of legal discrimination and anti-Semitic sentiments. No doubt, life in Berlin and her association with Struck deepened

⁴³⁴ From about 1905 onwards he began to investigate lithography and during the war turned his attention to woodcuts. However, he only ever produced a few woodcuts himself, and it is unlikely that he discussed the possibility of the technique with Arndt.

her knowledge of this aspect of Jewish history and culture. Her Jewish portraits might illustrate her new awareness of these matters, but first and foremost they pay a special tribute to the influence of Hermann Struck. Confining this sort of portraiture to her etchings, she linked her images not only thematically but also in medium to the work of her teacher and friend.⁴³⁵

Mina Arndt received her tuition in Britain and in Germany when the aesthetic concepts informing modern art were beginning to take hold there. Her chosen teachers, however, introduced her to an art inspired by French Realism and *plein airisme*, the ideas of Lepage and the Hague School, but also of Whistler. In Germany, Corinth introduced her to a vigorous, painterly technique. Julie Wolfthorn encouraged her experimentation with the 'modern', psychological portrait and her collaboration with Struck persuaded her to explore her Jewish heritage as a possible subject matter. Thus her nearly eight years in Europe exposed her to a variety of artistic and cultural influences, which considerably expanded on the utilitarian nature and British-academic focus of her art training in New Zealand. She began to develop the work patterns of a professional European artist. But in 1915, Mina Arndt, now nearly thirty years old, returned to New Zealand, armed with hundreds of her European paintings, drawings and etchings and determined to establish herself as a professional artist in her home country.

⁴³⁵ Struck presented Arndt with a number of his etchings before she returned to New Zealand:

- 1) *Venice Scene* - Frl. Mina Arndt zur freundlichen Erinnerung, 30. 5.1911
- 2) *Head of Jew* - an Mina Arndt zur Erinnerung: mit herzlichen Grüßen 12. 7.12
- 2) *Brooklyn Bridge* - Mina Arndt zur Erinnerung, 18. 6. 13
- 3) *Old Beggar* - Zur Erinnerung an Brückenallee 33
- 4) *Paris Notre Dame* - Zur Erinnerung, 20. 9.14
- 5) *Man with Cap* - Zur Erinnerung, 20. 9. 14
- 6) *Old Man* - z/h Mina Arndt, 20. 9. 14

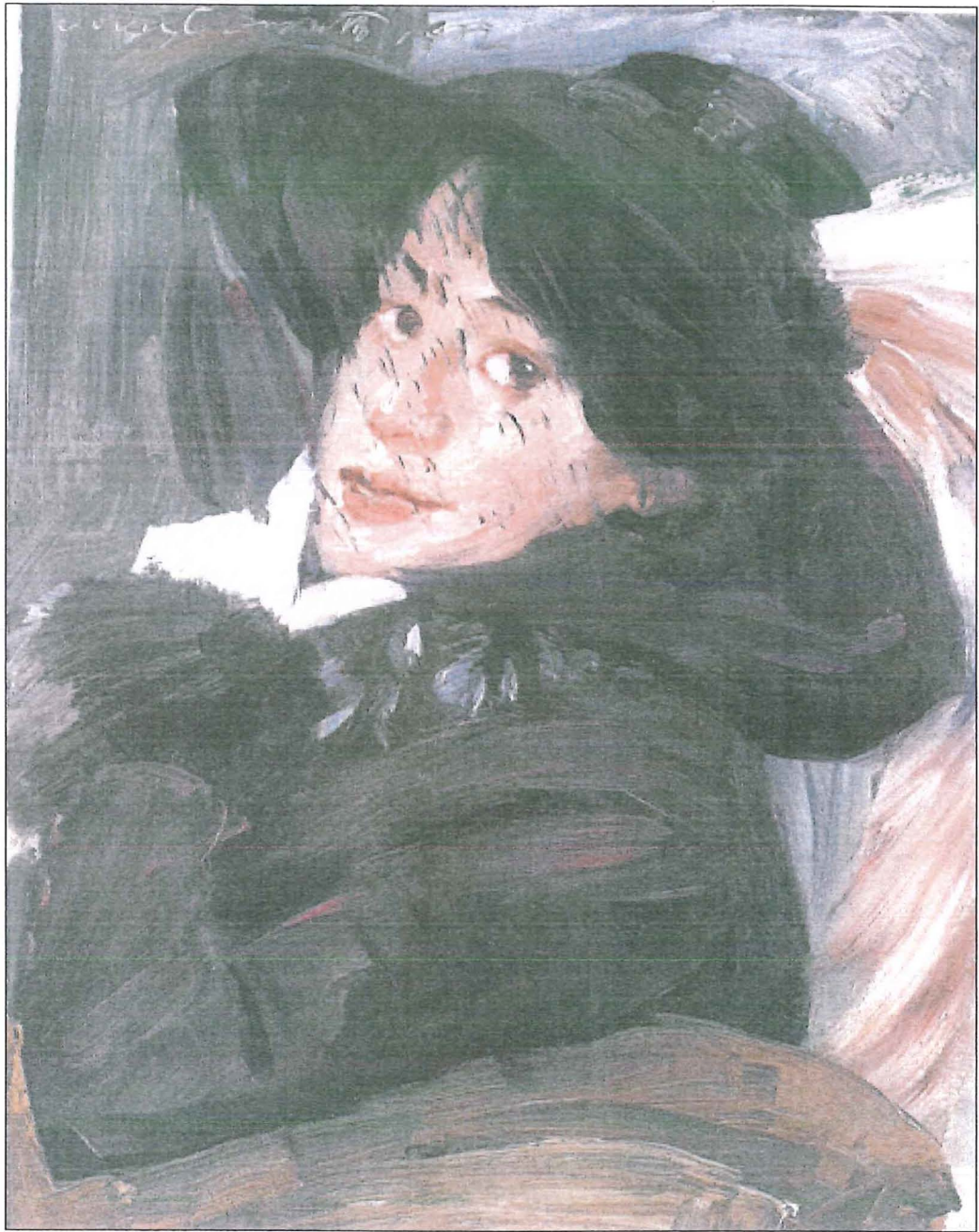


Fig.: 29

Title: Lovis Corinth: *Damenportrait mit lila Hut*

Collection: Germanisches Nationalmuseum, Nurnberg



Fig.: 30

Title: Lovis Corinth: *Donna Gravida*

Collection: SMB



Fig.: 31

Title: Lovis Corinth: *Der Harem*

Collection: Hessisches Landesmuseum, Darmstadt



Fig.: 32

Title: Lovis Corinth: *Liegender Akt*

Collection: Kunsthalle Bremen



Fig.: 33

Title: *Julie Wolfthorn*

Collection: (Source: SMBCA)

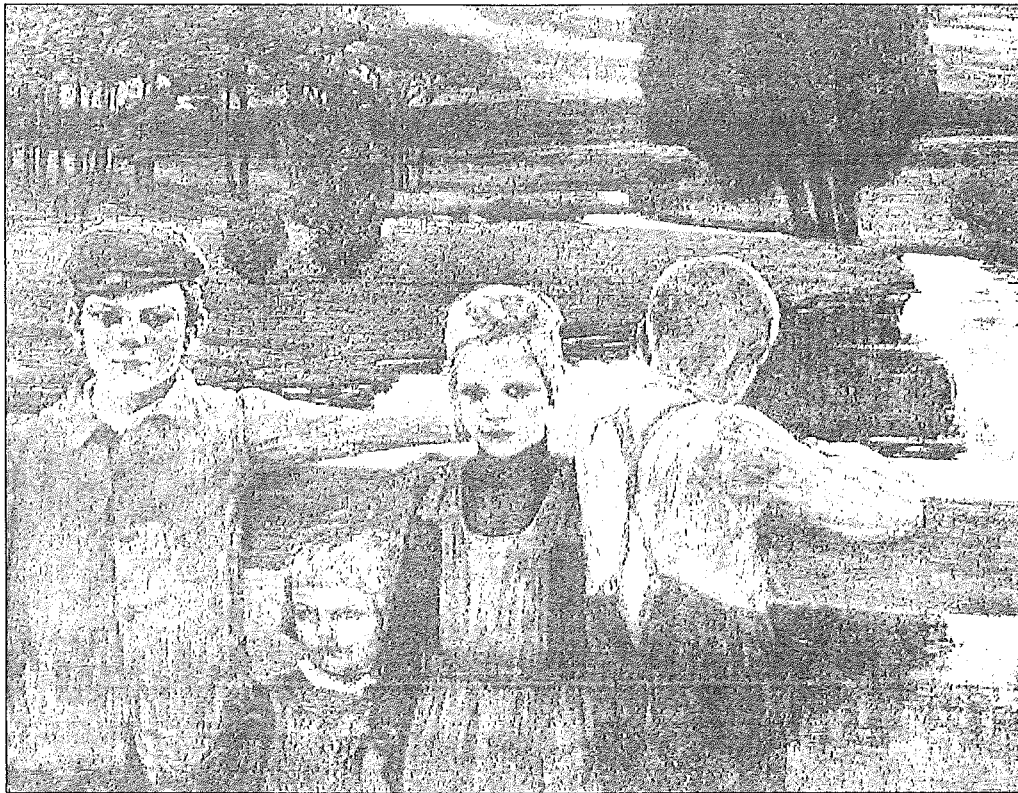


Fig.: 34

Title: Julie Wolfthorn: *Abend in der Mark*

Collection: (Source: SMBCA)

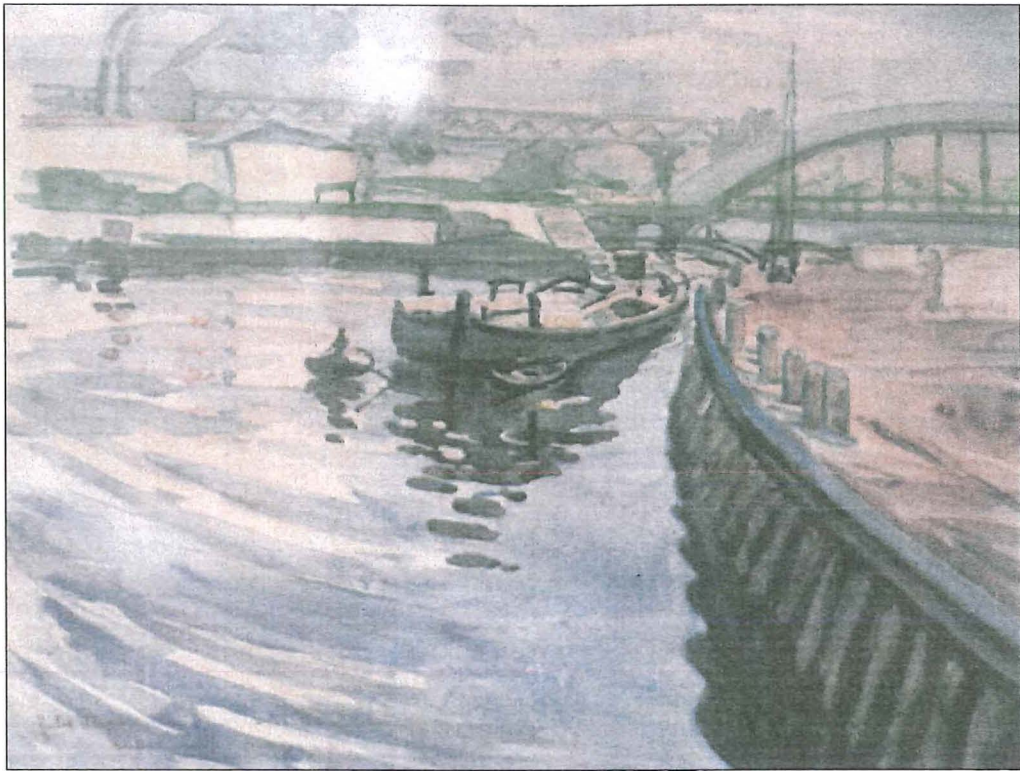


Fig.: 35

Title: Julie Wolfthorn: *Canal Scene*

Collection: priv. coll., Wellington



Fig.: 36

Title: Julie Wolfthorn: *Fishing Boats*

Collection: priv. coll., Wellington



Fig.: 37

Title: Julie Wolfthorn: *Kinderbildnis*

Collection: (Source: SMBCA)



Fig.: 38

Title: Julie Wolfthorn: *Young Girl*

Collection: (Source: SMBCA)



Fig.: 39

Title: Julie Wolfthorn: *Portrait of the Poet H. Lachmann*

Collection: (Source: SMBCA)



Fig.: 40

Title: Julie Wolfthorn: *Georg Wolf*

Collection:(Source: W. Shaw Sparrow (1905), p. 304)

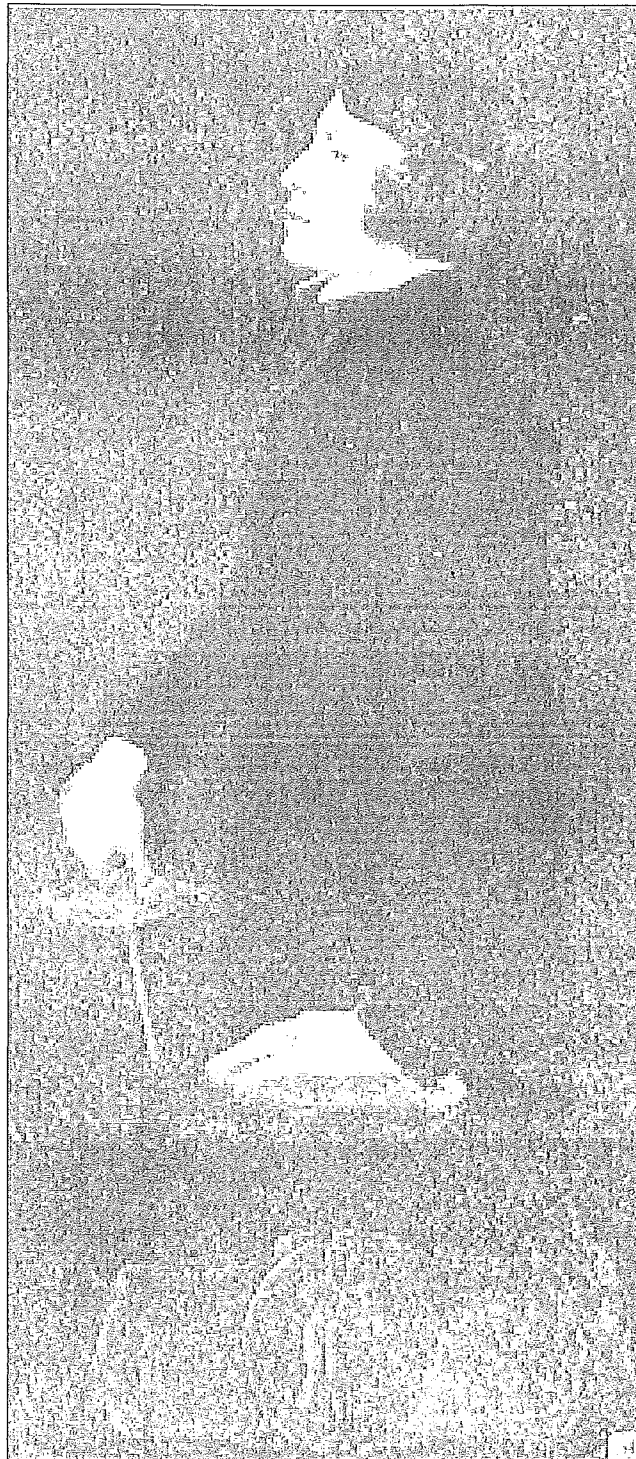


Fig.: 41

Title: Julie Wolfthorn: *Die Fechterin*

Collection: (Source: SMBCA)



Fig.: 42

Title: Julie Wolfthorn: *Magdalene Grunberg*

Collection: priv. coll., Hamburg



Fig.: 43

Title: Julie Wolfthorn: *In den Dunen*

Collection: Berlinische Galerie



Fig.: 44

Title: Hermann Struck: *Old Man from Jaffa*

Collection: priv. coll., Motueka

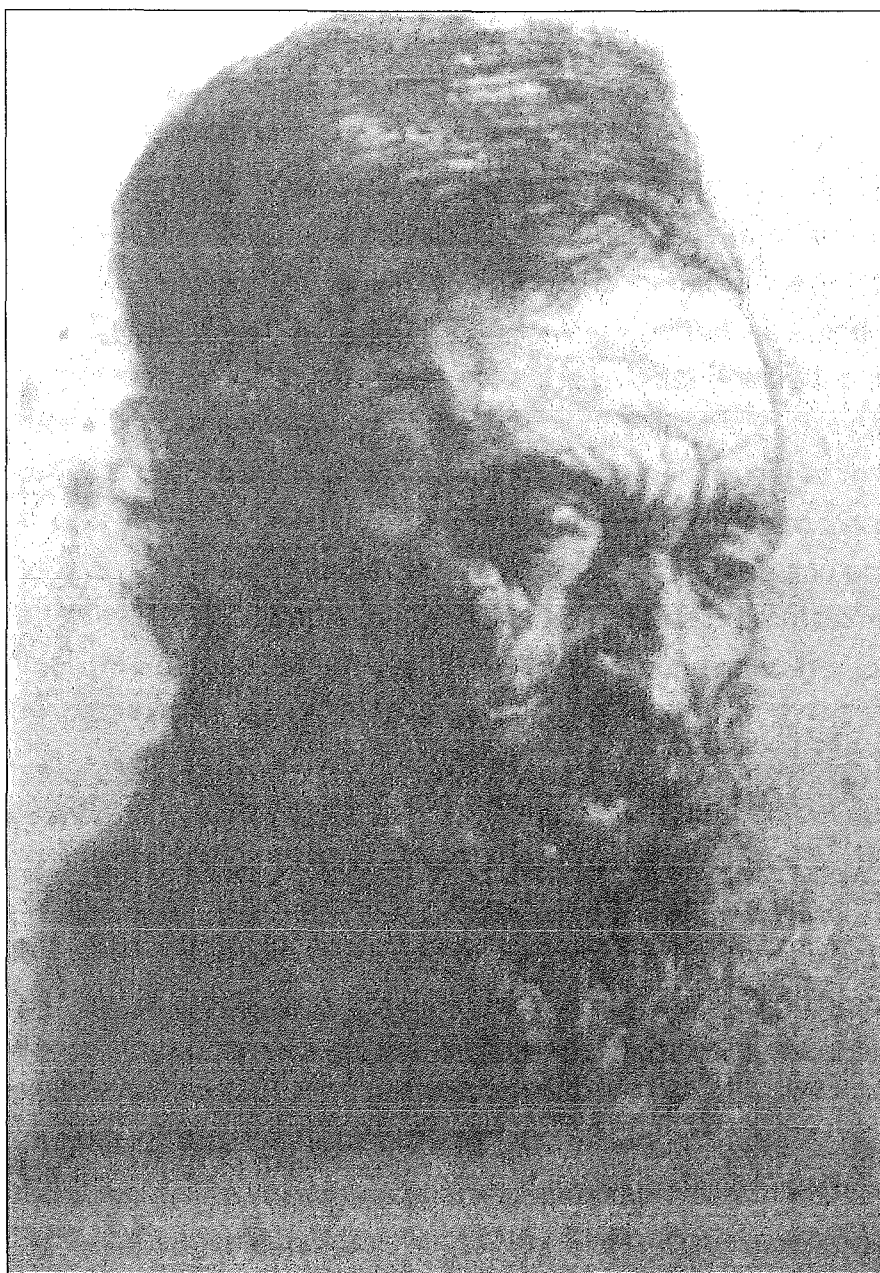


Fig.: 45

Title: Hermann Struck: *Polish Rabbi*

Collection: priv. coll., Motueka

Chapter 6:

The Artist in New Zealand

Mina Arndt returned to New Zealand early in 1915. Building on her experiences in Europe, she sought to establish herself as an independent artist in Wellington, but her professional activities were overshadowed from the outset by the events of WW1. The art market had shrunk considerably during her absence and narrowing prescriptions governing the socially desirable conduct of women and the continued conservatism of New Zealand's artistic community began to undermine the lessons she learned in Europe. Her marriage in 1917 to a supportive husband offered financial security to the nearly thirty-two year old artist, but entailed a move to remote Motueka and an acceptance of the obligations of family life and motherhood. From the isolation of her new home, she endeavoured to maintain her professional ambition in the arid cultural climate of provincial New Zealand, adjusting the style and subject matter of her work to local tastes and pockets. Therein she followed the example set by pioneers of female professionalism in this country, namely Margaret Stoddart (1865-1934), who conducted her career within these narrow parameters with considerable success.

When war broke out in the autumn of 1914, Mina Arndt found herself as an enemy alien in Germany, camping out daily at the British Embassy in Berlin, from where she and her sister Edith were eventually repatriated to New Zealand.⁴³⁶ Having escaped the turmoil of Europe in the grip of war, Mina Arndt must have felt relieved when she returned to the security of her hometown, her family and friends. But, after eight years abroad, she found the social and political climate of New Zealand much changed under the impact of the War. By 1915, thousands of New Zealand soldiers were on their way to the battlefields of Europe and in the course of the war would suffer the highest casualty rate of any of the countries embroiled in the conflict.⁴³⁷ From the beginning of hostilities, New Zealand newspapers ran daily articles on the war, including much anti-German propaganda. An important issue were Germans, or individuals with German connections, resident in New Zealand who, in the minds of some, constituted a security risk. Others felt that the money enemy aliens made with their commercial activities in New Zealand might support the German war effort.⁴³⁸ In response to such concerns, a number of patriotic, anti-

⁴³⁶ Interview between May Manoy and Ann Calhoun, 12 May 1988.

⁴³⁷ New Zealand also sent a higher proportion of its population to war than any other nation involved in the conflict.

⁴³⁸ See for example *The Press*, 11 November 1914, p. 2.

German organisations were formed in Wellington, such as the Women's Anti-German League.⁴³⁹ More important, as far as Mina Arndt's career was concerned, must have been those articles which analysed and questioned the value of German culture, for example, a lengthy piece entitled 'German Culture-What It Amounts To And What It Is Worth'. The article quoted eminent British academics on German accomplishments in the various fields of the arts, proclaiming that

If it be asked in conclusion, Are the Germans an artistic people? it may be said that with them expression in the arts of form is not spontaneous but rather forced. One of their own writers has been quoted as denying to them the pictorial instinct, and we may doubt whether the artistic instinct in general exists in them, though as a matter of set purpose they have 'hacked their way through' to art of notable effect....The Germans have done great things in the arts of which the world is proud, but they are not in the true sense an artistic race.⁴⁴⁰

Considering the public disdain and even hatred for anything German, it would have been unwise for Arndt to emphasise her training in Berlin or her own German family connections, once back in New Zealand.

A further obstacle for her to overcome at this crucial point of her career was the emerging debate concerning the merit of artistic activity at a time when the whole nation should be devoted to supporting the British Empire's armies. Indicative of the stifling, even patronising public attitude affecting the lives of New Zealand artists working at the time, the question was asked:

What has the war done for art? What has it done to it?

In the first place, it has taken hundreds of young men who were wasting valuable lives trying to transfer ideas, their own or another's, to canvas, and it has tested their manhood. Having made its gaps in the workfield of industrial men, it has beckoned to women who might have similarly have continued for years to daub and wash colour, and has transformed them into working bees.

It has become a sign of threatened decadence that in many British cities there should be such numbers of young people using God's daylight for no better purpose than that of gratifying a whim of playing with colour, with music, with clay, or what not. That the community should be expected to spend its toiled for substance in keeping the idle ones in continued idleness was an absurdity that was becoming fast accepted as a convention. Yet it had done so, largely because would-be artists long ago set out to educate the public into the belief that art was sacred, that it

⁴³⁹ *The Dominion*, 14 October 1916. p. 4: 'In fact, the league keeps a close watch on all aliens holding positions on trust. Mothers have received letters from their boys at the front, even from Mesopotamia, asking that the Anti-German League keep going, and do all in its power, and assure the league that its existence is an absolute necessity.'

⁴⁴⁰ *The Triad*, 10 July 1915, p. 396. The article discusses a book entitled *German Culture: the Contribution of the Germans to Knowledge, Literature, Art, and Life*, by Professor W. P. Paterson (ed.), Wellington, 1915.

was immune from the daily round of 'menial' duties; that as a calling, it was somehow superior to all others...[B]ut the war has done great weeding, thank goodness; and though many fine artists, real ones, have given their lives for their Empire, and have thereby denied much to posterity's pleasure, so too have the many amateurs turned themselves into real men and women and ceased playing with shams.⁴⁴¹

Those supportive of the arts in New Zealand worked hard to justify the work of artists in war time. The opening speeches of many art society shows contained repeated references to the events in Europe and their effect on New Zealand society, calling on art to produce a diversion, or to commemorate the heroism of New Zealand soldiers and their families. Images of war, of mothers grieving for their sons, became more numerous in the annual shows, attracting much sympathetic comment. But, generally, public interest was falling away. As one Wellington writer lamented:

Art takes steady, but slow steps forward in Wellington, as those familiar with the Australian public galleries will know. Not want of money so much as want of interest appears to be responsible for the backwardness;...the few who are the friends of art and who have the means are generous and enthusiastic, but they are few.⁴⁴²

Thus Mina Arndt sought to establish herself professionally in when the position of the arts in New Zealand culture was undermined by the lack of community interest and financial support and, coupled with the uncertainties raised by the war, prevented her from exhibiting further in Europe.

Nevertheless, and probably still buoyed by eight stimulating years abroad, Mina immediately after her return set up a studio above the premises of the photographer S. P. Andrews in central Wellington. There, in March of 1915, she held the only solo exhibition of her career, exhibiting a total of 93 works in a wide variety of media.⁴⁴³ Included were some oils and pastels, but the show consisted in the main of etchings and drawings. In organising an exhibition after her return, she followed the example of other New Zealand expatriate artists, such as D. K. Richmond and Frances Hodgkins, and was no doubt hoping to attract similar levels of public interest. While critical response was largely positive, it was also brief and relegated to the 'women's' pages' of the Wellington newspapers:

Mrs. P. J. Nathan and her sisters, the Misses Arndt, gave an 'At home' yesterday at Bartlett's Studios, to enable friends to see Miss Hermina Arndt's pictures. Apart from the pleasantness of the function, it was an

⁴⁴¹ Hilda Keane, Art and War, in *New Zealand Herald*, 10 June 1916, p. 1.

⁴⁴² *The Evening Post*, 4 October 1918, p. 3.

⁴⁴³ See Appendix V.

artistic treat, for Miss Arndt's work is interesting and varied in medium. Her black and white work is extremely fine. Her studio, in which much of her work was on view yesterday, is a delightful room, with many quaint accessories. Mrs. P. J. Nathan with Mr. Nathan received their guests at the entrance to the large studio. She wore a pale blue moire gown with a black velvet hat with plumes. Miss Arndt was in mustard coloured crepe and ninon, and a black hat and Miss Mina Arndt in dark blue floral voile and small hat with white flowers. Mrs Arndt wore black silk and a black hat. Tea was served in the studio.⁴⁴⁴

Such commentary, which paid more attention to the attire of those present than to the art works on display, hardly did justice to Arndt's professional ambition. As implied by the coverage of her exhibition, her art was equated with 'woman's work' and deemed of peripheral interest only. Again, her family decisively intervened in her career. It was the transformation of her exhibition opening from a professional event into an upper-class, social occasion, which spelt doom to Arndt's venture. The 'at home', presided over by her now influential and wealthy sister Jennie inevitably sent the wrong messages to the critics, inviting them to cast Arndt in the role of the leisured lady artist. Only the writer for *The Dominion* mentioned some of Arndt's artistic credentials and made some effort to characterise the scope and nature of her work:

Miss Arndt, it will be remembered, has spent some years at work in England and in Germany, her master in the latter country being Hermann Struck, whose studio in Berlin is (or was, before the war) one of the art centres of that city. Some of the paintings shown yesterday afternoon have been exhibited in the Paris Salon, and many delightful scenes and figures were to be seen among them. The etchings and black and white work were, some of them, particularly interesting, and showed Miss Arndt as a versatile, subtle and many sided artist.⁴⁴⁵

It is telling, that the solo show held in the same month by Archibald F. Nicoll (1886-1952)⁴⁴⁶ at the McGregor and Co. Art Gallery at Lambton Quay was deemed to be

⁴⁴⁴ *The Evening Post*, 4 March 1915, p. 9 (under 'Women in Print').

⁴⁴⁵ *The Dominion*, 4 March 1915, p. 2 (in the 'Women' World section). A brief notice on the show was also published in the *New Zealand Times*, 4 March 1915, p. 9, praising Arndt for her 'fine heads of old men' and her 'fine diamond point' work.

⁴⁴⁶ Archibald Frank Nicoll was born at Lincoln, near Christchurch. He studied at the Canterbury School of Art under Sydney Thompson and taught at the Elam School of art in Auckland in 1908. He left for Europe in c.1910, where he studied at the Westminster School of Art, the Edinburgh School of Art and the Scottish Academy School of Art. He exhibited both in Scotland and with the Royal Academy and was a member of the Society of Scottish Artists. During WW1, he enlisted as a member of the New Zealand Expeditionary Force. Following his return from Europe, he first lived in Wellington, but in 1920 was appointed Director of the Canterbury College School of Art. He became one of the country's favoured portrait and landscape painters, painting full time from 1928 onwards. His palette brightened considerably during the latter part of his career, his landscapes at times taking on an impressionist air. Exhibiting with New Zealand and Australian art societies, he diversified into etching from about 1920 onwards. Like Wellington painter Nugent Welch (1881-1970), he received much praise and a high

of interest to *The Dominion's* general readership, not just the women, and a lengthy article by the 'Lay-Figure' discussing Nicoll's work appeared in the main section of the paper. Nicoll, who like Arndt had returned from his studies in Europe only a few months earlier, had mounted a show including many sketches and studies of both landscapes and figurative subjects as well as some finished oils and watercolours, which he produced during his studies in England, Scotland and on the Continent. In the absence of any monograph on Nicoll, it is not known exactly which of his early works were included in this show. But it is safe to assume that it featured paintings similar in subject and style to *Winter, a Midlothian Canal* (c.1914, fig. 46) or *Newhaven, Firth of Forth* (n.d., fig. 47), landscapes which in line with his European training he had rendered in a subdued palette of earthy colours with few highlights. The article, entitled 'A Young New Zealand Artist', discussed Nicoll's work in some detail. In the spirit of the times, he was cast as a heroic figure, who 'being a patriotic young New Zealander...has laid down the brush to shoulder the rifle,⁴⁴⁷ while being the kind of young artist on whom the future of art in general depended. The same was not said of Arndt, although she and Nicoll had reached ostensibly similar points in their careers.

The attention paid to Nicoll matched the high expectations placed on male artists like him, artists who, it was hoped, would rid their work of any trace of Edwardian decadence, once they were chastened by the experience of active service in the war. For art was then, in the opinion of the 'Lay Figure', in a state of transition, an opinion shared by his or her British counterparts. An article (a reprint from *The Studio*) published in *The Triad* in March 1915 described an imaginary conversation between the Young Artist, The Man in the Red Tie and The Critic, discussing the 'Art that May be':

'Undoubtedly...some time must elapse before art can either pick up the old threads or weave new ones,' said the Man with the Red Tie. 'At the moment art is comatose, in a state of suspended animation; the nation thinking of something else, and the artists have left their studios for the battlefields. The awakening will be slow... 'Surely it will be stronger, more vital, more directly a reflection of the national life,' argued the Young Artist. 'The keying up of the national spirit must give an increased force to the nation's art.' 'It will clear it of a great many of the morbid affectations which have grown upon it so rankly during times of peace,' asserted the Man with the Red Tie. 'In that way the art of the future will probably be a good deal better than the art of the present. The younger generation you

public profile in years to come for his combat service- a fact which no doubt generated additional patronage for both artists. For examples of war art by Nugent Welch see T. Martin, p. 33 & 67.

⁴⁴⁷ *The Dominion*, 28 March 1915, p. 9.

are talking about will surely have no patience with the decadent humbug which has done so much to bring art into discredit of late years.⁴⁴⁸

Following the failure of her solo exhibition to arouse serious critical attention, Arndt adopted a number of different strategies to establish herself professionally. As already mentioned, competition for patronage was considerable: In 1916, 233 New Zealanders considered themselves to be professional artists (including art students), painters and sculptors, among them 148 women.⁴⁴⁹ Ten years before, that number was almost twice as high for both males and females, an indication of how difficult it was in the early 1900s to earn a living as an artist in New Zealand. Arndt responded to this competitive situation in sometimes quite imaginative ways. By 1916, for example, she had six of her drawings reproduced as postcards. (See Cat. 143-148). These she sent to retailers both in New Zealand and Australia. Of the 6000 cards she had printed, 2472 were marked as sold in her personal notebook, earning her the modest sum of £20.12. That same year she also sold original art works, mostly etchings and pastels, to the value of £ 42, lifting her total income to over £ 62.⁴⁵⁰ This represented about the annual wage a dressmaker or tailoress could earn in Wellington at the time.⁴⁵¹ As Wellington was by far the most expensive of all of New Zealand's urban centres to live in, Mina must have found it difficult to make a good living. Artists' materials were expensive, as was the cost of shipping her art works around the country, never mind to Europe, for exhibition.⁴⁵²

Initially at least, Arndt had reason to believe that she could generate some additional income through commissions, such as a series of Maori studies 'from the life', which she reportedly aimed to commence not long after her 1915 solo exhibition.⁴⁵³ Images of Maori and Maori life were then extremely popular with (Pakeha) New Zealand audiences, persuading many local artists to produce images of this kind at one time or another in the course of their career. Work of this nature in a variety of media also formed a significant aspect of Arndt's New

⁴⁴⁸ *The Triad*, 10 March 1915, p. 165.

⁴⁴⁹ *New Zealand Census Report*, 1916, Section IX, p. 52.

⁴⁵⁰ See Mina Arndt's personal notebook (Mina Arndt papers, family collection, Motueka) Not listed are any works she might have sold at art society shows that year, the income of about £62 must therefore be considered a minimum.

⁴⁵¹ See Official New Zealand Yearbook, 1915, p. 810. Until 1926, no statistical information exists as to the income professional artists were earning in New Zealand.

⁴⁵² In her personal notebook, Arndt lists four works, three drawings and miniature etching, which she had sent to the Salon in December 1916, presumably for the 1917 exhibition. None of these were hung.

⁴⁵³ *New Zealand Times*, 4 March 1915, p. 9. The article does not mention who commissioned these works and does not reveal any further details regarding this commission.

Zealand art practice.⁴⁵⁴ While Arndt picked up on popular themes such as 'Maori Mother and Child' with these (see Cat. 238), her images differ in several ways from the paintings of Maori subjects produced by other New Zealand painters at the time. Louis John Steele, for example, had made a name for himself with 'historical', narrative paintings featuring Maori, such as *The Arrival of the Maori in New Zealand* (1899) or *The Spoils to the Victors* (1908).⁴⁵⁵ For the former, he collaborated with his pupil C.F. Goldie (1870-1942), who went on to produce countless, extremely popular portraits of Maori, characterized by a high degree of finish and almost photographic attention to detail.⁴⁵⁶ Walter Wright and his brother Frank depicted Maori villages with intentions apparently similar to those informing the Newlyn painters' records of life in Cornwall. As already mentioned, Walter Wright, who was more interested in figure painting than his brother, had studied with Stanhope Forbes in Newlyn from 1901-1902. His *A Native Gathering* (1912) depicts a scene of Maori rural life, which records a vanishing lifestyle with the same attention to detail Forbes had devoted to his pictures of Cornish fisherfolk.

Arndt, too, applied the lessons she learned in Europe to her depiction of Maori, but in a manner very different to Walter Wright, and went on to produce one of the more remarkable oils of this subject matter produced by a colonial painter.⁴⁵⁷ *The Pink Scarf* (Cat. 24) shows a young Maori woman in contemporary dress against a dark, broadly rendered background. The young model's expression is skeptical, almost hostile. The brush work is vigorous, bold and broad. A horizontal line divides the background behind the neck of the sitter. The tight, centralised cruciform composition further underlines the tension between model and viewer. As in the *Red Hat*, Arndt uses scarlet details in the clothing of her sitter as vibrant accents in an otherwise restricted palette. As expressive as the *Berlin Marketwoman*, but even more freely painted, *The Pink Scarf* stands apart from the often romanticised, sentimental and formulaic portraits, as exemplified by the work of Goldie, which dominated imagery of Maori in colonial art at the time.

As in her drawings *Maori Mother and Child* (Cat. 238) or *Head of a Young Maori* (Cat. 240), Arndt presents her model like any of her European sitters and mostly refrains from including any of the then usual accessories connected with Maori culture, such as tiki, moko, traditional clothing or craft items. It is perhaps because

⁴⁵⁴ For a discussion of the imagery of Maori in European colonial art, see Bell (1992).

⁴⁵⁵ Steele was still attracting generous praise for this kind of work as late as 1916, when he exhibited *The Launching of a Maori War Canoe* at the ASA Annual Exhibition. See *The New Zealand Herald*, 2 June 1916, p. 4.

⁴⁵⁶ See Blackley (1997).

⁴⁵⁷ It is not known whether this painting formed part of the commission mentioned earlier.

of her failure to adhere to the common patterns governing European depictions of Maori at the time, that Arndt did not sell this painting and did not produce further oils of this theme.⁴⁵⁸

Moreover, there is no evidence that Arndt sought any further commissions of any kind after this. Her notebook contains a number of entries noting the addresses of possible models, another costly expenditure. These were all female, such as one Bessie Pearson c/o Britannia Theatre, Wellington, who would 'Sit for Figure'. There is no indication, however, that she employed these models to continue with life drawing and painting from the nude after her return from Europe, a reflection perhaps of lingering conservative public attitudes concerning work from the nude model, especially by female artists. In New Zealand Arndt focused on portraiture and depictions of the clothed model. These she continued to try and sell by regularly exhibiting with the art societies. At the time, dealer galleries were scarce in New Zealand. Renting one's own premises and mounting solo exhibitions was a costly affair and expensive to publicise. The art societies, with their well-established administrative networks, still offered the most regular, extensively reviewed (and well-patronised) opportunities for exhibition. But as a drawback, the art societies as well as the critics of the day continued to perpetuate narrow prescriptions of 'good art', which undermined the value of much of the training Arndt received in Europe and the vision she had developed of her career.

Mina Arndt's New Zealand career, from 1915 to her death in 1926, unfolded in a climate of cultural conservatism, which, following the events of WW1, developed into cultural nationalism. Although European credentials continued to contribute to her professional reputation, it became increasingly more important for New Zealand artists, whether foreign trained or not, to be seen to be contributing to a 'wholesome', national school of art. Thus, in 1919, a NZAFA sketch exhibition raised in some the

high hope that New Zealand art is destined to rank with the best craftsmanship of older lands. It may be a fortunate circumstance for the art of this country that our workers and students are so remote from the

⁴⁵⁸ Only Cat. 181 and 251, the former depicting an older Maori woman with moko and tiki, the latter showing a young Maori girl with traditional feather head dress, correspond to the more commonly used, commercial ways of depicting Maori. Although Kirker (1993), p. 57, suggests that she used 'local Maori' as models it could not be ascertained, who her Maori models were or which community they came from. But, as Tony Mackle established, in the case of *Maori Group* and *Maori Washing* (Cat. 241 & 242) Arndt used the same photograph as a starting point for her drawings. (Pictorial Archives, MONZ). Dorothy K. Richmond did the same with her painting *The Potato Peeler* (1905). See Johnston, plates 49 & 50.

influence of the Bolsheviks in paint- the art anarchists whose defecations are labelled cubism, futurism, vorticism and synchronism.⁴⁵⁹

Similar views continued to be expressed some seven years later, shortly before Mina Arndt's death. Even then, local writers were extolling the virtues of a colonial art not affected by the 'corrupting' influence of European modernism:

All progress in art away from the great centres of civilisation is slow, but the comparative isolation of the Art world in a colony has this advantage that it compels the artist to independence and real effort. New Zealand has this further advantage that the tradition of great painting which has come down to us through men like van der Velden has not yet been blurred by the passing fashions in art, which in Europe do most damage to the most promising students. The point of view which is characteristic of the time, and which some call 'modern', is influencing and will influence our art, but only in so far as it is truly assimilated by the sturdy and independent spirit of the New Zealander.⁴⁶⁰

It was believed that a national style would most probably develop in the landscape genre, parallel to trends in Australian art.⁴⁶¹ Moreover, as late as the 1920s public commentary repeated ideas similar to those voiced during the founding period of the art societies fifty years earlier, namely that art should primarily have a didactic function, aiming to refine the cultural aspects of late colonial life. It was

the desire of most thoughtful New Zealanders that the Dominion should grow in grace as well as in wealth, that as pioneering ceases in the physical world there should be bolder journeys into the realms of art, and that as fast as release comes from the tyranny of bush and swamp there should be protection against the more deadly peril of uninstructed idleness.⁴⁶²

The nature of Arndt's training in Europe, then, and the regard which local reviewers held for the work of van der Velden should have boded well for her career in New Zealand. Her first contribution to a local art society show following her return home, was her exhibit with the OAS in her former hometown of Dunedin in 1915, which comprised five of her European works⁴⁶³:

⁴⁵⁹ *The Evening Post*, 10 May 1919, p. 9.

⁴⁶⁰ *The Press*, 3 April 1926, p. 13. The author of this review was Dr. George Mackenzie Lester, a British trained physicist and a long time member of the Board of Governors at Canterbury College, Christchurch.

⁴⁶¹ See, for example, J. G. Harvey, Australian and New Zealand Art, in *The Press*, 10 March 1925, p. 10: 'New Zealand has, comparatively speaking, too few men who will paint its characteristics in a truthful, sympathetic vein. Undoubtedly, there is sufficient scope in this country for a distinctive national school of landscape painting, since the islands offer, one would say, a wider range of subjects even than Australia does.'

⁴⁶² *The Press*, 31 March 1923, p. 14.

⁴⁶³ OAS Catalogue, 1915.

No. 175: <i>Homewards</i>	£100 (Cat.11)
No. 281: <i>Head of a Cornish Fisherwoman</i>	£15.0 (Cat.126)
No. 334: <i>Orpheus with his Lute</i>	£3.10 (Cat. 292)
No. 389: <i>Barges, Chelsea</i>	£3.10 (Cat. 280)
No. 392: <i>Church Lane, Newlyn</i>	£3.10 (Cat. 281)

The two oil paintings were priced well above average, *Homewards* being the second most expensive painting, after *The Homecoming from Gallipoli* by W.A.Bowring, which cost £105. Thus Arndt confidently demanded more money for her painting than some of the show's best known contributors with established reputations, such as Goldie or local landscape painter C.N.Worsley. However, in the eyes of the local critic, such confidence was completely misplaced:

...in a gallery where vivid hues prevail, too low a tone is apt to lend an appearance of dinginess. M. Arndt's deliberate choice of such unrelieved dirtiness of colour in 'Homewards'(175) is remarkable.⁴⁶⁴

A 'refined' use of colour, reflecting in the majority of cases the New Zealand landscape in a variety of moods, was what the Otago critic was looking for.⁴⁶⁵ That Arndt had adopted the 'low tone' deliberately, to convey the weariness and exhaustion of the woman depicted, escaped this reviewer's attention. The same was true for the critic of *The Evening Star*, but this writer at least demonstrated some appreciation for the composition of this full length, figurative work:

One of the largest canvases in the room is 'Homewards', by M. Arndt, representing a fishwife with an empty creel. We do not understand the finishing of this work. It looks as if it had been unintentionally touched with a sprinkling of dust. Otherwise it impresses one. The figure is well drawn, and the manner of its presentment somewhat uncommon, for the fashion is to adopt tricky posings, whereas in this case the fishwife stands square to the beholder and challenges full inspection.⁴⁶⁶

As early as this, her very first art society exhibition in New Zealand since returning from Europe, a certain trend was emerging in the kind of critical comment Arndt was attracting: while generally struggling to appreciate Arndt's approach to painting, critics usually commended her for the high technical standard and

⁴⁶⁴ ODT, 23 November 1915, p. 6.

The same article appeared in the *Otago Witness*, 24 November 1915. The *Otago Witness* reviews do not mention Arndt again.

⁴⁶⁵ Similar views were reiterated two years later, See *Otago Witness*, 28 November 1917, p.57. Here the reviewer regretted the low colour and heavy impasto of many of the oils of late, which contrasted with the patrons' preference for the generally brighter watercolours. 'It will be noticed, however, that this year there has been a tendency among painters to try and meet the situation by introducing lighter and cleaner schemes of colour into their oils.'

⁴⁶⁶ *The Evening Star*, 12 November 1915, p. 2.

expressiveness of her drawings and the narratives they believed they could detect in her pictures:

[W]e expect the critics to join with us in picking as the best of this artist's exhibits the head of a Cornish fisherwoman (281) a very striking study in charcoal. The technique is highly satisfactory and every stroke is a contribution to the author's intention, which is to figure forth a sorrowful expression. One reads out of this drawing that the fisherwoman is wondering why the affliction has come to her, and what the end of it will be. It is a tribute to merit in such a work that it outlines a story, and this one certainly does.⁴⁶⁷

If Arndt early on in her career did not rise to a particularly prominent position in Dunedin, nor in the other major centres, it may have been because she failed to contribute works which could be read as a visual expression of topical public sentiment, for example, images of war and its effect on society. In the late 1910s, these were produced in large numbers by artists such as Mary E. Tripe or W. A. Bowring, to name but a few. On show at the OAS in 1915, Tripe's *The Last Letter* was acclaimed as a 'a powerful presentment of that stupefying grief which so many delicate women are having to endure in these times of trial.'⁴⁶⁸ Similar praise was lavished on W. A. Bowring's expensive and much admired oil *The Homecoming from Gallipoli*.

As far as her first exhibit in Otago was concerned, Arndt might have fared better had she been an artist familiar to local audiences. Reviewers working for the newspapers in New Zealand's main urban centres usually demonstrated a regional bias in their articles, favouring the hometown painters in their consideration of the works on display. Arndt herself fared worst in Christchurch, where little attention if any was paid to her exhibits over the years. In 1916, her *Girl with the Rabbit* (Cat. 7) was dismissed as being 'grotesquely impressionistic in treatment.'⁴⁶⁹ - another indication of the conservative artistic attitudes of the time. Consistent with this regional bias, Arndt found most attention devoted to her in

⁴⁶⁷ ODT, 15 November 1915, front page. A detailed analysis of the traditions of art criticism in New Zealand is outside the scope of this study. But it needs to be remembered, as already alluded to in Chapter 4, that New Zealand art critics of the time, with few exceptions, had only a limited grasp of the various Western traditions informing colonial art practice at the time. However, underlying was an understanding of art in which the masculine describes a technically vigorous and active approach to art production, contrasted by implication with a passive 'feminine' restraint and subtlety. On the whole, until about the 1930s, equal amount of attention and 'column space' was given to female and male artists, reflecting the fact that about half of all contributors to the annual shows of the art societies until that time were women.

⁴⁶⁸ ODT, 16 November 1915, p. 7.

⁴⁶⁹ *The Lyttelton Times*, 7 April 1916, p. 8.

Wellington. Because of a misunderstanding with the secretary of the NZAFA,⁴⁷⁰ Arndt did not show in the capital again until 1916, when she sent eight pictures to the annual exhibition.⁴⁷¹ *Homewards* made another appearance, its price reduced considerably, as Arndt began to adjust her expectations of local art market conditions. However, her prices remained among the highest in the exhibition, and few if any were sold. Not surprising, considering his emerging favouritism of the (male) heroic artist, was the harsh treatment with which the 'Lay Figure' greeted her first NZAFA exhibit in 4 years:

Miss Arndt's work leaves me somewhat cold. Like so many lady artists, she strives hard after virility, but too often achieves repellent harshness. I much prefer her flower study, 'Hydrangeas', No.16, to any of her figure work. No. 91, a woman with a child, will appeal to many by its sentiment, but here again there is a hard touch in the handling. Some small landscapes are also shown by this artist.⁴⁷²

From comments such as this, contemporary ideas about the different nature of female and male art practice emerge, highlighting in particular a crude gendering of subject matter. Corresponding to notions of femininity and appropriate female conduct, flowers, still life, children and small-scale landscapes (preferably rendered in watercolour) were deemed the most suitable subjects for female artists and their work was thoroughly scrutinized for compliance with these expectations. Any deviation was dutifully commented on. Thus a Wellington reviewer was eager to point out:

Miss M. Arndt, in her figure of a working woman (117), 'Homewards' has struck a most pathetic yet truthful note. Hard indeed is it to withhold sympathy from so sad a claimant. She evokes just those feelings as does Millet's 'L'Homme a l'houe' ...Miss Arndt (vide other works in the gallery) has a style peculiarly her own, a style, perhaps, not likely ever to become extremely popular, but of her sincerity and her ability to paint herself into her work there is no question. The working woman, as Miss Arndt paints her, may be seen any day in our own back country, and, strangely

⁴⁷⁰ Letter NZAFA to Mina Arndt, 29 July 1916 (NL) While the 1915 NZAFA show was being organized, Arndt was away from Wellington, probably staying in Taranaki.

⁴⁷¹ Catalogue of the NZAFA Annual Exhibition 1916:

No.9 *The Blue Dress* £ 35.0.0

No.16 *Hydrangeas* £ 12.12.0

No.91 *Midsummer* £ 50.0.0

No.117 *Homewards* £ 75.0.0

No.131 *Within Sight of the Sea* £ 6.6.0

No.145 *Charcoal Drw.* NFS

No.336 *Dusk* NFS (oil wash?)

⁴⁷² *The Dominion*, 16 October 1916, p. 9. It is possible, that 'The Lay Figure' may have been a pseudonym used by different critics working for *The Dominion*.

enough, although having so much to be redressed, she is not the stuff that suffragettes are made of.⁴⁷³

While Arndt's large-scale figurative work was seen in this instance as expressing the sentiments appropriate to a female artist and did not threaten public perceptions of desirable female, social conduct, it nevertheless did not achieve the popularity she might have hoped for. An important reason for this was no doubt the unusual nature of her artistic training. Not even in Wellington, where her artistic influences were perhaps best known, were her critics able to discuss the complex sources of her style. Unable to sell much of her work and most probably surviving through the ongoing support of her family, namely her sister Jenny, Mina Arndt may have begun to reevaluate the feasibility of a professional career in New Zealand. This coincided with her meeting Motueka businessman Lionel (Leo) Manoy, a kind and supportive man, whom she married in February 1917.

Leo Manoy (1882-1960) was the son of Abraham Manoy, the patriarch of a prominent Jewish merchant family, which played a prominent role in the commercial development of the Motueka district. The business of A. Manoy & Sons included a general store, a creamery and a number of supply stores for the Motueka farming community. Later in life, Lionel Manoy joined his brother Harry in a local wine and spirits business. Educated at Nelson College in the 1890s, Lionel Manoy retained a keen interest in education and made a name for himself as a supporter of primary schools. He was a keen sportsman, a foundation member of the Motueka's Druids Lodge and as such a well known benefactor of the local community.⁴⁷⁴ Leo Manoy's social background in fact strongly resembled that of the Hallensteins and other Jewish families Arndt had come into contact with during her childhood in Dunedin and later on in Wellington. He was socially more than her equal, an educated man with a keen interest in the arts, comparatively wealthy to boot, and therefore an ideal match for Mina, then nearly thirty-two years old. Leo Manoy had in fact been married before, to Mina's first cousin May Newman, who died in 1913 after giving birth to her daughter, also called May.⁴⁷⁵

⁴⁷³ *The Evening Post*, 16 October 1916, p. 9. This particular comment may allude to the public concern raised by the decade-long and often violent struggle of the British Suffragettes for political equality. While it is beyond the scope of this study to trace colonial reaction to the Suffragist movement in Britain in detail, it needs to be mentioned that the events in Britain were well covered in New Zealand newspapers and raised some concern regarding the 'womanliness' of the modern, Edwardian woman. See L. Tickner, *The Spectacle of Women, Imagery of the Suffrage Campaign, 1907-14*, London, 1987.

⁴⁷⁴ Obituary, unsourced and undated newspaper clipping (MAPM).

⁴⁷⁵ It was May Manoy, who from the 1960s onwards became a tireless promoter of her step-mother's artistic heritage and the most frequently quoted source in any publications on Arndt thus far. For an account of May Manoy's life see J. Fyfe, *Matriarchs*, Auckland, 1990.

While the marriage was undoubtedly based on mutual affection, Arndt might have appreciated the financial security Leo Manoy could offer her. An alternative to marriage would have been to teach art at a girls' school, like D. K. Richmond did from 1907 to 1924⁴⁷⁶, but teaching at school level apparently never appealed to Arndt. Moreover, during the war years, the cult of 'heroic' motherhood took on a new urgency⁴⁷⁷ and resulted in increased pressure on women to marry. Whatever social (and family) expectations influenced her decision, an important factor for Mina was surely Leo's support of her professional ambitions. He had a studio built for her at their house at No. 78 Poole Street, Motueka (fig. 48) and was by all accounts very proud of his wife's artistic achievements. (He was not, of course, an artist himself, and therefore could not render the kind of encouragement and professional support Elizabeth Forbes, Laura Knight, Dod Procter or even Elizabeth Kelly received from their spouses) But Leo was wealthy enough to employ two servants and a governess for his children, which left Mina free to pursue her art, even after her only son, John, was born in 1920. As May later recalled:

Mina had little to do with the actual house. She used to arrange flowers and that sort of thing, but her whole life was painting.⁴⁷⁸

Mina Arndt was, then, in the fortunate position not to have to compromise her artistic practice to take care of family and household obligations. Her son and stepdaughter nevertheless occupied much of her attention. An affectionate mother, she drew countless images of the children, particularly of John when he was a baby (Cat. 197-203). Numerous photographs show Mina as a new mother holding John, and later spending time with the children in the garden of her Motueka home (figs. 49 & 50). Moreover, financial security freed Mina from the obligation to produce works for sale. She nevertheless remained determined to conduct herself as a professional. The isolation of her new home, however, accelerated the already emerging changes in her art practice, and increasingly she included small-scale landscape studies in a variety of media, drawings of domestic interiors and still lifes in her exhibitions.

In the late 1910s, Motueka, situated on the Tasman Bay about fifty kilometres north of Nelson, was a small rural settlement of about 1500 inhabitants. Access to Nelson

⁴⁷⁶ Johnston, p. 50.

⁴⁷⁷ See for example, Carmel Shute, 'Blood Votes' and the 'Bestial Boche': A Case Study in Propaganda, in *Hecate*, vol. 2, no. 2, July 1976, pp. 7-21.

⁴⁷⁸ Fyfe, p. 138.

was provided by coastal steamers or an arduous journey along unsealed roads. Horse-drawn coaches were still operating in the region as late as 1918, when finally a programme was designed to build and improve backblock roads and bridges.⁴⁷⁹ A public power supply was not available in the Nelson region until the 1920s, lagging behind many other rural districts in the respect.⁴⁸⁰ And, despite the widely held belief that the prosperous and stable years of the Edwardian era would return, the inter-war years proved to be a difficult, economically depressed period for the region. As a consequence, Nelson's population increased only slowly, remaining below 12 000 until 1936.⁴⁸¹ Yet, despite its small population base, during the early period of European settlement Nelson had more than its fair share of significant artists deciding to settle in the region, both amateur and professional: Sarah Greenwood (1809-1899), Emily Harris (c.1837-1925), John Gully (1819-1888), James C. Richmond (1822-1898) and his daughter, Dorothy K. Richmond were among the most prominent of these. When Mina Arndt arrived in the district and began her association with the local art society, it was still the focal point of most artistic activity in the region.

The Nelson Suter Art Society (NSAS) took its name from its founding father, Bishop Andrew Burn Suter, as did Nelson's Bishop Suter Art Gallery, opened in 1899 as a memorial to him. The Bishop's private collection formed the nucleus of the gallery's own collection, and a close association developed between the NSAS, (formerly the Bishopdale Sketching Club) and the gallery's trustees.⁴⁸² Between the wars, the NSAS usually held one large annual show in spring, comprising the customary array of art works, and also organised one or more annual sketch exhibitions, most often held in winter. Far from being a community affair only, the Nelson shows also regularly featured the work of prominent artists based elsewhere. Margaret Stoddart, for example, was considered a most welcome visitor to the region, and her work was widely recommended to local art students and patrons alike as a model of outstanding artistic achievement. An example of the

⁴⁷⁹ Jim McAloon, *Nelson-A Regional History*, Nelson, 1997, p. 167.

⁴⁸⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 163-165. In the Motueka Borough, a gas generator became operative in January 1922. Before then Motueka households, the Manoy's among them, relied on candles, gas and kerosene lamps for their lighting.

⁴⁸¹ *Ibid.*, p. 154.

⁴⁸² See June E. Neale, *Nelson Suter Art Society, 1889-1989*, Nelson, 1989. Suter had arrived in Nelson in 1867. As a true 'Victorian lion' he entertained a wide range of educational and cultural interests and was an avid art collector. An amateur himself, he drew together the kindred spirits of the Nelson region to form the 'Bishopdale Sketching Club' in August 1889. Not surprisingly, Suter was the club's president until his death in 1895. The club members initially numbered fourteen, about half of them women. The Bishopdale Sketching Club saw itself very much as an artist's collective. It exchanged sketches not with the art societies, but the sketching clubs in the various urban centres, such as Palette Club in Christchurch. The first annual show of the members' work was held in 1890.

enthusiastic notices she used to attract featured in the *Colonist* in 1917, the year in which Mina Arndt first contributed works to the Nelson show:

Landscape sketches form by far the greatest part of the exhibition of pictures at the Suter Art Gallery, which was well attended yesterday afternoon. By general consent, those shown by M.O. Stoddart, of Christchurch, were voted to be worthy of the place of honour which they were given. They represent many aspects of New Zealand scenery, from its remotest mountains and valleys, where man cannot change anything, to parts of the country where his roads, buildings, plantations and other works supply the element of human interest. The artist's free, confident method repays study... Miss Stoddart catches the spirit and atmosphere of the varied scenes which she depicts, and it is pleasant to notice that she has not been idle...during her present visit to Nelson, which, by the way, has supplied local workers with much encouragement and inspiration.⁴⁸³

Margaret Stoddart, alongside Grace Joel, Frances Hodgkins and Dorothy K. Richmond, was one of the pioneers of female professionalism in this country. She ventured to construct a career for herself in a similar social context to Arndt, where

new ideas about the role of women and traditional expectations co-existed, professional ambitions came into conflict with ideals of femininity and women artists often faced disapproval and found themselves occupying an ambiguous position within the art institutions.⁴⁸⁴

In the early 20th-century, the work and professional conduct of Margaret Stoddart, twenty years Arndt's senior, represented a benchmark of female artistic achievement in this country which any newcomer could expect to be measured against. Stoddart's career therefore provides an important comparison to Arndt's and explains many of the changes which took place in the latter's art practice following her return to New Zealand.

Margaret Stoddart was born in Diamond Harbour near Christchurch to a Scottish father and Norwegian mother and had received her early schooling in both Christchurch and Edinburgh. Hers was a cultured family, which, similarly to the Arndts, placed great value on art and education for its daughters. Thus, in 1882, Margaret and her three sisters enrolled at the Canterbury College of Art, where they studied under David Blair and George Herbert Elliot. Like Arndt's, Stoddart's early art instruction consisted in the main of drawing lessons (according to the South Kensington system), but also provided her with some basic instruction in oil

⁴⁸³ *The Colonist*, 17 October 1917, p. 3.

⁴⁸⁴ King (1997), p. 19.

and watercolour painting. Stoddart completed her studies in 1890, but had become a working member of the CSA as early as 1883.

Margaret Stoddart at first specialised in flower painting, because, as her biographer Julie King has pointed out, the initial direction of her career was 'shaped by ideas of gender that associated flower painting with femininity, and by the widespread colonial interest in indigenous flora.'⁴⁸⁵ Her first exhibits with the CSA consisted of a variety of flower pictures, including roses and native daisies. In 1885, two of her paintings, *Mountain Lily* and *Roses* were purchased by the CSA for its permanent collection. Stoddart's father died that same year, leaving his family in secure, but somewhat restricted financial circumstances. The sale of her pictures therefore provided a welcome addition to the family income. Over the next few years, she gained the reputation of being this country's foremost flower painter, her critical and financial success compromised, however, by the low artistic status of this genre. Stoddart was encouraged to pursue flower painting for the same reasons that Arndt's reviewers advised her, more than thirty years later, to do the same: it allowed critics to limit women's professional ambitions, while appearing to promote them.⁴⁸⁶

It was Stoddart's flower-hunting, travelling the backblocks of New Zealand in search for specimens of native flora, which became an increasingly important aspect of her art practice from about the mid-1880s onwards and may have developed her interest in landscape painting. If Stoddart herself had any artistic role-models, then they were the Australian flower painters Marianne North and Ellis Rowan. North, who visited New Zealand in 1881, had travelled five continents in her pursuit of rare and exotic plant specimens and her painting achieved considerable public recognition in London. Stoddart's own flower-hunting expeditions allowed her to spend extensive periods of time in the remote Chatham Islands in the 1880s and 1890s, her first trip lasting more than a year. In 1894, Ellis Rowan, who met Stoddart while travelling in Canterbury, encouraged her young New Zealand counterpart to exhibit in Melbourne, where Stoddart's work was met with considerable critical acclaim. Flower-hunting provided Stoddart with periods of unencumbered travel and undisturbed, professional focus. Thus, when she left for Europe in about 1898, she did so as a skilled and already successful colonial artist, unlike Arndt who had only just completed her basic training when she arrived in Britain. However, both decided on Cornwall as a place of study. While Arndt

⁴⁸⁵ Ibid., p. 39.

⁴⁸⁶ See Nunn (1995), pp. 29-45, for a discussion of women's involvement with flower painting in Victorian England.

went to Newlyn to study figure painting, Stoddart travelled to St. Ives to paint landscapes.

Stoddart arrived in St. Ives in 1899, before taking up the itinerant life of the colonial artist abroad. Like Frances Hodgkins and Dorothy K. Richmond, with whom she met up in St. Ives in 1902, Stoddart travelled widely on the Continent and in Britain, but frequently returned to Cornwall. As a landscapist, Stoddart committed herself to the principles of *plein airisme* much more fully than Mina ever did, often, such as in *Bluebells* (c.1902-06), depicting woodland and orchard scenes. Works of this nature allowed Stoddart to combine her skill as a flower painter with her interest in the landscape genre. Thus, while in Europe, Stoddart laid the foundation for her later career in New Zealand, which she based on the two then most popular genres in New Zealand art, landscape and still life/ flower painting.

However, it may not have been Stoddart's intention to conduct the remainder of her career in New Zealand. From the outset of her trip abroad, she wanted to establish herself professionally in Europe - unlike Arndt, who sought further training to build her New Zealand career on. Like Hodgkins, Joel and Thompson, Stoddart exhibited widely in Europe and showed not only at St. Ives, but also at the Royal Academy and the 'Old' and 'New' Salons at Paris and the Society of Women Artists. But she also sent work home to be exhibited with the New Zealand art societies, as did Hodgkins and Richmond, in an attempt to raise additional income, but perhaps also with the idea of developing and maintaining a professional reputation at both ends of the world. However, that plan soon came unstuck. Stoddart sold only a few works in Europe, and in 1906 when she showed thirty-nine works, almost all of them landscapes, at the Baillie Gallery in London, they were met with little more than a lukewarm critical reception. Meanwhile, her New Zealand audiences did not appreciate her new and 'radical' Impressionist style. Thus, when she arrived in New Zealand in 1907, and family commitments persuaded her to remain there, she was faced with the task of rebuilding her previous professional reputation.

Stoddart had returned to New Zealand with the intention to stay only for a while. However, her sister Frances died a few days after childbirth in 1909, and Margaret remained in Diamond Harbour to help her mother and sister Agnes care for her young niece. As repeatedly was the case with Arndt, family commitments decisively shaped Stoddart's career and both had to adjust their professional ambitions to accommodate not only family needs, but also the artistic preferences of their

colonial audiences. Not surprisingly, it was Stoddart's flower painting which restored her professional reputation in New Zealand, especially her paintings of roses. Once her Impressionist technique became more acceptable to local audiences, Stoddart, alongside her friend Dorothy K. Richmond, established a place for herself 'in a category of painting that was frequently undervalued, and invariably overlooked, in preference for landscape.'⁴⁸⁷ It is thus not surprising, that Stoddart (as did Richmond) increasingly focused on landscape painting.

Therein, she concentrated on her immediate Canterbury environs, but also journeyed to the Otira, the Mackenzie Basin, the central North Island and the Nelson region. Indeed, it was her achievement as landscapist, particularly her skill in evoking the distinctive character of the South Island's Alpine regions, which moved her contemporaries to call her in 1935 'one of Nature's artists...with a strong, healthy outlook that amounted almost to masculinity.'⁴⁸⁸ As explained by the comments of the Nelson critic, Stoddart had already established herself as a painter of regional landscapes when Mina first settled in Motueka. It was not only Stoddart's industry and the high technical standard of her work, but also her predictable adherence to one particular medium and popular, but limited subject matters, which appealed to local audiences. Stoddart set a standard (or expectation) of what her art was about and any slight variation on her successful recipe was dutifully commented upon.⁴⁸⁹ By contrast, versatility and a preference for figure painting and drawing had been a characteristic of Arndt's art practice from the early days of her training abroad and possibly contributed to her problematic reputation as an individualistic artist working off 'the beaten path.'⁴⁹⁰ It can be assumed that she was able to discuss such matters with Stoddart during one of the latter's visits to the Nelson region. Moreover, in Motueka-based artist Hugh Scott (1869-1944), himself a regular contributor to the Nelson shows, they had a mutual acquaintance.

Hugh Scott was born Rowland Hughey Walkey in Wales. He is said to have studied in Dresden, Florence and Belgium before attending the Académie Julian in Paris as a pupil of Bouguereau. In 1894 he exhibited with the Royal Hibernian Academy of Arts. An adventurer at heart, he emigrated to New Zealand in 1901, changing his

⁴⁸⁷ King (1997), p. 82.

⁴⁸⁸ Sydney L. Thompson and James Shelley, Miss. M. O. Stoddart, in *Art in New Zealand*, vol. VIII, no. 2, p. 99, quoted in *ibid*, p. 16.

⁴⁸⁹ The reviews of Margaret Stoddart's works are too numerous to list here, but another good example of the type of review she attracted in the 1910s in other centres was published in the *ODT*, 16 November 1915, p. 7.

⁴⁹⁰ *The Nelson Evening Mail*, 16 October 1917, p. 4.

name to Hugh Scott on arrival. In 1904 he set up as a professional painter in Tinwald (Canterbury), but by 1905 he had become a goldminer on the West Coast. For the next twelve years he lived in various West Coast settlements, supporting himself and his family as a miner, clerk and artist. In 1911 he was elected a member of the NZAFA and a year later shared a studio with artist John Bickerton in Hokitika. Following his mixed fortunes at the West Coast, he moved his family to Motueka, where by 1917 he earned his living as a clerk at the Motueka District Court.⁴⁹¹ Thus, an amateur artist, trained in the 19th-century French academic manner, became Arndt's only known artistic contact in Motueka, a far cry indeed from the stimulating, critically aware and professionally focused company of versatile painters Mina Arndt had kept in England and on the Continent.

It was Scott who most probably accompanied Mina Arndt, when she, following the example set by Stoddart, embarked on regular sketching expeditions around the Motueka region. In line with the different nature of their artistic training, few parallels can be drawn in their art practice. Scott's detailed, diminutive watercolours (fig. 51) have none of the vigour of Arndt's Motueka landscapes. His portraiture, as seen in *Lieutenant-Colonel Dunbar Stewart* (fig. 52), lacks the cohesiveness of Arndt's anatomically more convincing *The Preacher* (Cat. 92). If anything, Scott's strength lay in his watercolours, and the lightness of touch he showed in these may have encouraged Arndt to experiment more with the popular, if lowly medium of washes herself - the example of Stoddart's work no doubt having a similar effect. With an increasing commitment to the landscape and still life genres, Arndt was perhaps trying to leave behind the image of the artistic outsider and to move closer to the example set by the artists around her, especially by successful female professionals like Stoddart or even Richmond.

Thus Arndt began experimenting with a genre she had received little training for and fragmented her art practice to depict scenes from her immediate rural environment, using pastels, oils and oil washes. Agriculture in the Motueka district consisted in the main of orcharding, tobacco and hop plantations. Thus, not surprisingly, farms, fruit trees and hop kilns⁴⁹² became some of Arndt's major themes in the years following her marriage. Her training in Newlyn had introduced Mina to motifs of rural life, which in the work of the Cornish painters included painstakingly accurate depictions of fishing villages and their inhabitants. However,

⁴⁹¹ See Joan Dodds' biographical notes on Hugh Scott (Unpublished manuscript, Dodds family collection).

⁴⁹² Hop kilns or oast houses later also became a major motif for the most celebrated of Nelson painters today, Sir Mountford Tosswill Woollaston (1910 -1998).

in painting her new environment, Arndt adopted an approach more akin to the impressionistic landscape studies of Margaret Stoddart or even her German teacher Julie Wolfthorn and produced small, intimate views of certain rural localities, which often featured some kind of picturesque building.

Among her favourite subjects were the steeply-roofed hop kilns, then common in the region. These Arndt depicted in loose colour sketches, which also aimed to capture the feel of the different seasons. *Oast Houses, Motueka* (Cat. 94) conveys something of the aridity of the summer season in North Nelson, contrasted by *Hop Kilns Winter* (Cat. 59), rendered in grey and blue hues of a winter's day. A similar interest in seasonal effects is expressed in *After Rain* (Cat. 88), depicting a country lane in midwinter. Here Arndt used an oil wash in brown and blue hues over pencil details to convey the effect of a wintry shower. *The Cottage down the Lane* (Cat. 86) adopts a similar technique, but Arndt varies her palette to give the scene a warmer, summery feel. More exuberant were her depictions of spring and autumn scenes. *Peach Blossom, Motueka* (Cat. 85) highlights a row of fruit trees in blossom in front of an old cottage. In colouring and motif, this work, as does *Spring* (Cat. 57), comes closest to some of Margaret Stoddart's spring scenes, such as *Apple Blossom* (c.1902-06, fig. 53) or *Godley House, Diamond Harbour* (c.1913, fig. 54). Arndt's works, however, never attained the degree of technical virtuosity which characterises Stoddart's paintings. Arndt's oil washes appear to be quick notations, possibly sketched in pencil outdoors and then overlaid with a thin wash later.

It was in her landscape pastels that Arndt achieved a richer sense of colour, rivaling the effect of Stoddart's watercolours.⁴⁹³ In *Early Spring* (Cat. 220), flowering fruit trees and a cottage with a bright red roof are set against a background of rich greens and blues, this being only one of many such sketches. (See for example Cat. 227-232) By contrast, her oil paintings of rural scenes were not a success, their composition awkward and the brushwork laboured, reflecting Arndt's lack of training in this genre. (See Cat. 34-36) But her general drawing skills nevertheless enabled her to adapt to local preferences far enough (as far as subject matter and the tonal key of her work were concerned) to exhibit her Motueka works to a generally positive public and critical reception.⁴⁹⁴ Significantly, in 1921, she was

⁴⁹³ Arndt's descendants insisted, that she never used watercolours, but some of her Motueka landscapes (Cat. 94-98) suggest that she was experimenting with gouache, a medium also used by Stoddart.

⁴⁹⁴ See *The Dominion*, 8 May 1922, p. 10, for a typical comment: 'Mrs Manoy (Miss Minna [sic] Arndt) sends some very charming work, mainly Motueka scenes. There is a truly poetic feeling in 'The Homestead' and 'Autumn', and her larger picture, 'The Hop Kiln', is a finished composition of much dignity and grace. "

even named one of the six artists 'seriously at work in setting forth individual expressions of national characteristics in our scenery and life.'⁴⁹⁵ The new direction her art was taking was being rewarded in financial terms as well. Arndt's exhibit at the 1921 NZAFA annual exhibition, for example, included No.381, *Sketch, Motueka* and No.382, *Showery Morning* (Pastel). She sold the former for £7.7.0, but also an oil, No.30, *Nasturtiums and some Zinnias*, for £25.0.0.⁴⁹⁶

By that time, Arndt had been experimenting for some years with still lifes, usually flowers, arranged in a vase and placed next to some of her favourite figurines. Her tendency to combine flowers with other decorative items was a popular choice at the time, and images of this nature were considered highly commercial. For an artist living in an isolated community, still lifes had the obvious advantage that they could be easily produced at home. But again, her foray into this kind of painting was compromised by the lack of training she received in this area and her work in this genre is of uneven quality. (Compare, for example, Cat. 71-75) Nevertheless, she was continuously encouraged to further pursue still life painting. For example, as early as 1918, a critic described *Zinnias* as 'instinct with both strength and delicacy and [it] exhibits Miss Arndt's clever brush work in a new and attractive field to which I trust she will frequently return.'⁴⁹⁷ Thus, despite the fact that many of the younger New Zealand artists like Arndt had gone to Europe to train as figure painters, flower painting remained one the main genres professional female artists of the early 20th century built their reputations on.⁴⁹⁸ In addition, Arndt also produced a number of non-floral still lifes, a popular practice for both male and female New Zealand artists at the time. In the absence of extensive collections of European figure paintings to study from, still life, like landscape, was considered a particularly suitable subject for local painters.

Arndt rendered her still lifes in oils and pastels. Like many of her fellow painters, she set her favourite still life items, for example pumpkins, melons and glass-ware, but also her flower arrangements, against dark, almost black backgrounds,⁴⁹⁹ a

⁴⁹⁵ *The Dictionary of New Zealand Biography*, vol. 3, 1901-1920, Auckland and Wellington, 1996, p. 21. The primary source for this statement is not given.

⁴⁹⁶ *New Zealand Times*, 1 October 1921, p. 4. Although there are no comprehensive statistics recording patterns of art patronage in New Zealand at that time, it is safe to assume that sketches, being lower priced, sold generally better than the more expensive oils. This may have been another reason why Arndt focused on drawing in different media.

⁴⁹⁷ *The Dominion*, 9 October 1918, p. 9.

⁴⁹⁸ For an in depth feminist analysis of still life and flower painting in New Zealand, see A.Elias, *New Zealand Still Life and Flower Painting 1880-1940*, PhD thesis in Art History, University of Auckland, 1991.

⁴⁹⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 246.

convention reminiscent of the Flemish still life tradition she familiarised herself with while in Europe. Her largest, and arguably most successful, non-floral still life is the carefully structured, highly finished *Decorative Group* (Cat. 91) of 1925. Here Arndt subordinates her brushwork to a highly analytical and carefully modelled investigation of form and volume, absent from her more decorative flower pieces. This did not escape her main critic and prompted the 'Lay Figure' to grant Arndt his highest praise yet, while comparing her work to that of a popular newcomer from Christchurch, Rhona McKenzie⁵⁰⁰:

An interesting comparison between the still life studies of Miss Minna [sic] Arndt (Mrs Manoy) and Miss Rhona McKenzie. Miss Arndt's 'Decorative Group' (70) is, I should say, the best still life in the show. It is broadly, magnificently modelled and rich and glowing in colour. A quite notable work, which might well be acquired for the Academy. ...Miss Rhona McKenzie's large still life (151) competes with Miss Arndt's for recognition. It has perhaps more light than Miss Arndt's work, though glowing in colour, this quality has not been achieved, as is so often the case, at the sacrifice of light. It is perhaps unfair to compare her work with that of Miss Arndt, the latter has quite a suggestion of the old masters; but the Christchurch lady's work is singularly dexterous and charming.⁵⁰¹

The Academy did not follow 'The Lay Figure's' recommendation and failed to buy *Decorative Group* for its collection. Arndt was never granted this official stamp of approval, indicative perhaps of the individualistic and highly personal character of much of her work in other genres, which in many cases were produced in media other than oil or watercolour.

Arndt's later figurative works continued to focus on her sitters' individual characters, rather than seeking popular, sentimental appeal. A good case in point is *Mother and Child* (Cat. 40). Painted about 1919, this work revisits one of Mina Arndt's favourite subjects - young motherhood - without lapsing into the exaggerated sentimentality which usually characterised this genre at the time. The work is built on strong tonal contrasts and demonstrates the vigorous painterly style Arndt had developed in Europe. *The Preacher* is a further example of this approach in her later portraiture. By contrast, Arndt's portrait of her mother (Cat. 43), the only known formal portrait Arndt ever did of any of her family members, is more conventional in its restrained brushwork. Marie Arndt is shown full-face, calm and clear, in her widow's dress and quite unadorned. She often visited Mina in Motueka, and also

⁵⁰⁰ The brief career of Rhona McKenzie (1901-1931), who had once studied with Hugh Scott, but began to experiment with post-impressionist techniques while training in Europe, is discussed in Kirker (1993), pp. 63-68.

⁵⁰¹ *The Dominion*, 24 September 1925, p. 3.

features in *The Corner* (Cat. 237), a richly coloured pastel, depicting the old woman bent over some needle-work in her daughter's sitting room. The pastels of interiors, which also included *Evening and May at the Piano* (Cat. 253), *Through the Window* (Cat. 233), and *The Patchwork Quilt* (Cat. 234), must be rated as Arndt's most significant works in the medium. In their rich toning and subject matter, they call to mind the later pastels by Mary Cassatt depicting women and children, such as *Margot in Blue* (1902). Arndt's large pastels also represent a compelling illustration of her Whistlerian opinion, that 'painting's like music. You have phrases in it. Part of the joy of painting is to be able to wander in it.'⁵⁰²

As illustrated by *The Patchwork Quilt*, Arndt's domestic servants had also become her models, *The Housekeeper* (Cat. 40), a large oil, being another significant example of this. Thus these women facilitated Arndt's continued art practice in more than one way. Not only did they free her from time-consuming household chores, they also provided her with a subject matter akin to the motifs Arndt had explored in Newlyn - rural, working women, who were the subjects of the images purporting to record their lives. Her housekeeper is seen peeling vegetables, while Arndt is implicitly seen painting. Arndt gazes at her model from a privileged position, across the divide of class, but her gaze is nevertheless respectful. The housekeeper appears stern and dignified, perhaps a little disapproving of the distraction from her task. Like the images recording the daily activities of her mother or step-daughter, *The Housekeeper* records the quiet, female world of Arndt's sheltered domestic life. But her depiction of life in Motueka also included numerous drawings of local characters, such as fishermen and farm labourers. Here the elaborate charcoal technique of her European character heads at times gave way to a looser handling of the medium, as for example in *Mr. Boyes*. (Cat. 190) or *A Fisherman* (Cat. 191). Works such as these consistently formed an important aspect of her contributions to the annual shows, as did her more elaborate charcoal studies such as *Maternity* (Cat. 165). Arndt's audiences valued these images for their strong modelling and depth of expression, but few if any ever sold. In New Zealand in the early 20th-century, commercially successful portraiture consisted in the main of commissioned depictions of local dignitaries and society ladies, as exemplified by the work of Archibald Nicoll or Elizabeth Kelly.

By contrast (and again confirming limitations of the local art market, as well as the continued popularity of the landscape genre), Arndt's cheaper charcoal and half-tone landscape sketches continued to sell. (For examples see Cat. 211-214). They

⁵⁰² May Manoy, discussing Arndt's work, quoted in Fyfe, p. 138.

further extended her engagement with the Motueka region, an area overlooked by most artists and critics at the time. More significant destinations for the painters of the emerging 'national school', such as Archibald Nicoll, Cecil Kelly and also Margaret Stoddart, were the Southern Alps and Canterbury region. Arndt therefore can be credited with almost single-handedly producing the most significant body of work focussing on the Motueka region in this period of New Zealand art history - even if she did so by default, tied as she was to the area by her family commitments. (One can only speculate about how she would have reacted to the arrival of Toss Woollaston in the late 1920s, a few years after her death. Her oil sketch *Landscape, Motueka* (Cat. 76) with its fluid, bold rendering of a hillside near her home appears to anticipate the approach that Woollaston would later develop in his much larger paintings of the same subject.⁵⁰³)

Arndt's favourite Motueka motifs also formed part of her later printmaking oeuvre, the aspect of her career which suffered the most from the lack of continued artistic exchange of the kind she had enjoyed in Europe. Arndt had an etching press installed in her studio at Motueka and continued to submit prints to the local art society shows throughout her career. She also became a founding member of the Australian Painter-Etcher Society, established in Sydney in 1920 in response to an increased public interest in intaglio printmaking. It was Australian artist Gayfield Shaw who first suggested that a group of Sydney artists should initiate an art society devoted entirely to the art of printmaking and which should include as its members not only Australia's, but also New Zealand's painter etchers.

Shaw wrote to the most likely candidates, which in New Zealand were Archibald Nicoll, H. Linley Richardson, Richard Wallwork, Flora Scales and Mina Arndt. It is more than likely that Shaw knew the New Zealand artists by name only from their exhibits with New Zealand art societies. Only five of the twenty founding members were women, listing on the Australian side Jessie Traill, Eirene Mort, and Edith Hope. Hans Heysen, Sydney Ure Smith and Henri van Raalte also joined.⁵⁰⁴

⁵⁰³ See T. Woollaston, *New Zealand through the Arts - Past and Present*, Wellington, 1982, p. 16, for Woollaston's opinion of Arndt. Woollaston arrived in Motueka in 1928, and he did not become aware of her work until some time later. From his vantage point of a successful, self assured, late 20th century modernist painter who in the minds of many admirers made the region his own, he wrote: 'In the Suter Gallery is a fine 'Mother and Child' of hers, painted in magnificently strong swipes of surprisingly delicate colour... But her landscapes told me nothing at all of Motueka, except how the old hop kilns looked, buildings that I loved myself because of their old world appearance ... but from her landscapes other than these I can get no feel of the place as I know it. Motueka, in those I have seen, is only a romantic dream.' On this occasion, he did not mention Arndt's *Landscape, Motueka*, although it had been published alongside Woollaston's work in Peter Tomory's 1968 survey on New Zealand art.

⁵⁰⁴ David Angeloro, *The Australian Painter-Etchers' Society* (unpublished manuscript, 1996) p.4 ff.

Between 1921 and 1933, the APES mounted a total of twenty seven exhibitions in Sydney, Melbourne, Adelaide and Brisbane, each comprising between 150 to 250 prints. The APES was thus far more active than its New Zealand equivalent, the Quoin Club, founded in 1916, and lasting until 1929. In the thirteen years of its existence, the Quoin Club organised only three exhibitions and published two portfolios of prints. Arndt, who was not a member of the Quoin Club,⁵⁰⁵ and her New Zealand colleagues were therefore well advised to join the APES, which proved to be a commercially successful venture for many of its members.

Between 1921 and 1924, Arndt exhibited a total of sixteen etchings with the APES, both in Australia and New Zealand, all except two - *Street in Corfe* (Cat. 294) and *Paper Barges* (Cat. 282) - being portraits or figure studies.⁵⁰⁶ They included in 1921 one of her Jewish subjects, the freely drawn *Old Jew's Head*, a copy of which (as already mentioned) was purchased for the National Gallery of New South Wales for 5 guineas.⁵⁰⁷ The same work, along with *Paper Barges*, was also reproduced in a special edition of *Art in Australia* in 1921,⁵⁰⁸ devoted to the work of Australian and New Zealand printmakers. While she continued to exhibit Cornish subjects in her etchings, perhaps working from drawings she produced many years earlier, Arndt, once resettled in New Zealand, abandoned her Jewish motifs. Continuing to show Cornish motifs was consistent with the practices of other New Zealand artists, such as Margaret Stoddart, who frequently showed views of 'Home' (meaning Britain). Jewish subjects, however, were of little significance to New Zealand audiences, indicative of the high degree of assimilation achieved by the small Jewish congregation of New Zealand, and instead Arndt began to etch the kind of character heads she most often drew in charcoal, such as *A little Deaf* (Cat. 303), or *Ben* (Cat. 300).⁵⁰⁹ In *A little Deaf* Arndt experiments successfully with a combination

⁵⁰⁵ Ibid., p. 2. According to Angeloro, the Quoin Club's members were Percy Bagnall, Alfred J. Brown, James Fitzgerald, Arnold Goodwin, Tom V. Gulliver, William Gummer, Albert Hooper, Marcus King, Trevor Lloyd, David Payne, Herbert Tornquist, Harry Wallace, Edward Warner, Fred Watson and Rueben Waits.

⁵⁰⁶ See catalogues of the APES, Sydney 1921, Melbourne 1921, Adelaide 1922, Sydney 1922, Christchurch 1923, Sydney 1924. Mina Arndt's copy of the catalogue of the inaugural APES exhibition, held in Sydney in 1921, has three more prints pencilled in under her printed entries marked No. 1 to No. 8, bringing the possible total of Arndt's entries that year to eleven. Cat. No. 11, as indicated by the pencil note, could have been entitled 'Motueka'.

⁵⁰⁷ See *The Sydney Morning Herald*, 9 June 1921, p. 10.

⁵⁰⁸ *Art in Australia*, vol. 3, no. 9, plate 68 *Paper Barges*, plate 69 *Study of an Old Man's Head*.

⁵⁰⁹ May Manoy remembered the mature Mina Arndt as a professing, but not an orthodox Jew- in the absence of an organized Jewish congregation in the Nelson region, it would have been difficult to maintain an orthodox Jewish lifestyle, anyway. But it also needs to be remembered, that during the war and right through the 1920s, various racial theories began to be circulated more frequently in New Zealand papers. While racism in New Zealand concerned mostly people of Chinese and Dalmatian descent, Jews were also coming into focus as the target of racial discrimination and mistrust- a trend, which might have persuaded Arndt not to advertise the fact that she was indeed Jewish. See, for

of softground and etching, delivering a richly toned print reminiscent of her highly finished charcoal portraits. *Ben* also demonstrates fine and varied line work, but in *Fisherman* (Cat. 301), technical difficulties begin to emerge in the blurred transitions between facial features, neck and shoulders. Worse still is *Carrying Nets* (Cat.299), which appears over-etched and awkwardly drawn. Arndt's printmaking in the 1920s thus appears like a case of arrested development. Unfortunately, her series of etchings depicting Maori, purchased in 1922 by the then Governor General Lord Jellicoe and his wife Gwendolyn and which no doubt represented an interesting addition to her printmaking oeuvre, have since been lost. As it was, the pursuit of an etching career did little to improve her standing as an artist. Perhaps against her expectations, etching remained a little known art form in New Zealand during Mina's lifetime.⁵¹⁰ Alongside other black and white work (drawings and sketches), etchings were relegated to the tail end of the newspaper reviews of the art society shows. Thus Arndt ventured into and, in the case of her drawings, excelled in media which ranked lowly in the hierarchy of the arts in New Zealand and thus ultimately contributed to her position on the margins of this country's art history.

It was not until Arndt's inclusion in Anne Kirker's survey of New Zealand women artists (1986), that this position was challenged to any degree and Arndt's role as an arts administrator and art teacher emphasised⁵¹¹ - tasks which also formed a significant aspect of Stoddart's and Richmond's career.⁵¹² Arndt was not only an active and valued member of the NSAS, but also the Nelson vice-president for the National Art Association of New Zealand.⁵¹³ Moreover, in 1924 and 1925, Mina Arndt conducted her own 'Summer School of Painting, In and Around Motueka'. This included classes in drawing and painting, landscape painting, black and white work, with the landscape classes being held three times per week. As she had learned from her teachers in Newlyn, Arndt set aside two hours on Saturdays for a general 'crit session' on any work her students had done outside the regular school

example, *The Triad*, 10 July 1915, p. 398. For a recent investigation of anti-Semitism in early 20th century New Zealand see M.F. La Rooy, *Political Antisemitism in New Zealand during the Great Depression: A Case Study in the Myth of the Jewish World Conspiracy*, M. A. Thesis in History, Victoria University of Wellington, 1998.

⁵¹⁰ See *The Press*, 28 March 1923, p. 5.

⁵¹¹ Kirker (1993), p. 58.

⁵¹² See King (1997), pp. 90-95 and Johnston, p.50 ff. Stoddart was a long term member of the CSA Council and also taught privately, while Richmond, apart from her teaching duties, served in various functions on the council of the NZAFA.

⁵¹³ See *The Nelson Evening Mail*, 12 June 1925, p. 7, for an article outlining the 'important work' to be undertaken by the Association, namely a general fostering of the art and artists in New Zealand, including the establishment of public galleries throughout New Zealand and even town planning and beautifying.

hours. According to the prospectus, 'the Course of Study, which comprises Drawing from the Cast and Painting from Still Life studies, is especially arranged in order to assist school teachers. Drawing and Painting from Nature is also included.'⁵¹⁴Arndt's school proved to be a popular success⁵¹⁵, and attests to the professional status she had achieved within the artistic community of the Wellington and Nelson region. Some official recognition arrived late in her career. In 1924, two of her drawings were included in a large exhibition at the Palace of Art at the British Empire Exhibition at Wembley,⁵¹⁶ (Arndt was awarded a medal for her contribution) and in 1926, another one of her works, *After Rain*, was hung at the Paris Salon. By then, Mina Arndt had begun to experiment with a painting style closer to a post-impressionist aesthetic than anything she had done before. *Day's End* (Cat. 93) shows one of her sisters bent over her needlework in a sparsely furnished, evenly lit interior. Gone are the careful colour modulations of her pastel interiors or the textured paint application of her earlier portraits. Here Arndt experiments with flat colour, pattern and line. On the wall, behind her sitter, hangs a small landscape, like an echo of Arndt's countless studies of her provincial home. Arndt appears ready to move on, but the painting remains the only indication of things which might have come.

Having fallen ill earlier that year, Mina Arndt died at her sister Jennie's house in Wellington of nephritis on 22 December 1926, aged forty-one. Mina Arndt's premature death cut short the career of one of New Zealand's most versatile women artist of the early 20th century. After eight years of dedicated study overseas, she arrived back home to become a committed and consistent

⁵¹⁴ Prospectus of Mina Arndt's Summer School (Mina Arndt papers, family collection, Motueka). Course fees were 3 Guineas per month of four weeks, which included the use of a studio. According to the prospectus, Arndt was a member of the Union Internationale des Beaux-Arts et des Lettres and a member of the Royal Society of Painter Etchers. These memberships could not be proven, and in the latter case may instead refer to her involvement with the Australian Painter-Etchers' Society.

⁵¹⁵ *The Evening Post*, 21 September 1925, p.13. Unfortunately, none of her former students could be identified.

⁵¹⁶ Catalogue of the Palace of Arts-British Empire Exhibition, Wembley, 1924: Cat. Y. 72, Mina Arndt (Mrs. Leo Manoy) - *The Thinker* (charcoal drawing) £5.5s
Cat. Y. 85, Mina Arndt (Mrs. Leo Manoy) - *Study* (charcoal drawing) £5.5s
The exhibition comprised exhibits from all of Britain's Dominions, parading in the tradition of the large 'International Exhibitions' their achievements in all areas of economic and cultural production. The New Zealand exhibit was accompanied by a substantial general reference publication, dealing with all aspects of life in New Zealand. See S. L. Fanning, *Progressive New Zealand*, Christchurch, 1924. Significantly, the essay on 'Art in New Zealand', written by one S. H. Jenkinson, puts forward the idea that it is painting which is most prominent in the arts and that 'it is reasonably certain that its development owes much to the scenery and environment of New Zealand...' (p. 89). The writer also claims Nugent Welch to be the greatest of all New Zealand's artists of the day: 'His water-colours are filled with air and sun, there are instinct with design, so that their appeal is almost entirely subjective and their melody of line and rhythm is lyrical in its charm.' For an impression of the exhibition site and the various pavilions, see L. Richmond, The Lure of Wembley, in *The Studio*, vol. 87, 1924, pp. 312-316.

contributor to the dominion's artistic life. But distracted by the commitments of married life and motherhood, and without the stimulation of a constructively critical, competitive and experimental artistic community in which to extend herself, Arndt's artistic development faded and frayed. Isolated in rural Motueka, trying to adjust her own art practice to the example of established local artists, thus accommodating the conservative tastes of her New Zealand public, her art practice fragmented to include a number of genres she had paid scant attention to during her studies abroad. In doing so she ultimately compromised many of the ambitions she had developed in Europe and became the kind of woman artist New Zealand society was willing to accommodate.



Fig. No.: 46

Title: Archibald Nicoll: *Winter, a Midlothian Canal*

Collection: MONZ

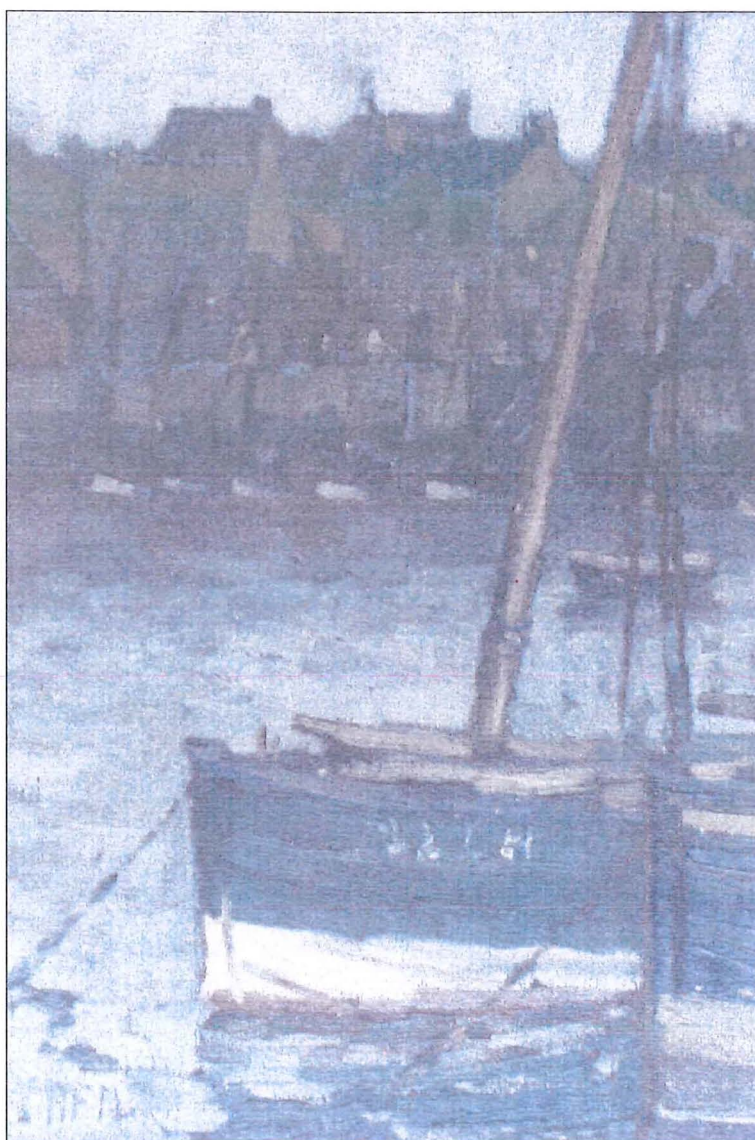


Fig. No.: 47

Title: Archibald Nicoll: *Newhaven, Firth of Forth*

Collection: HL



Fig.: 48

Title: *No. 78, Poole Street, Motueka*

Collection: Dorothée Pauli

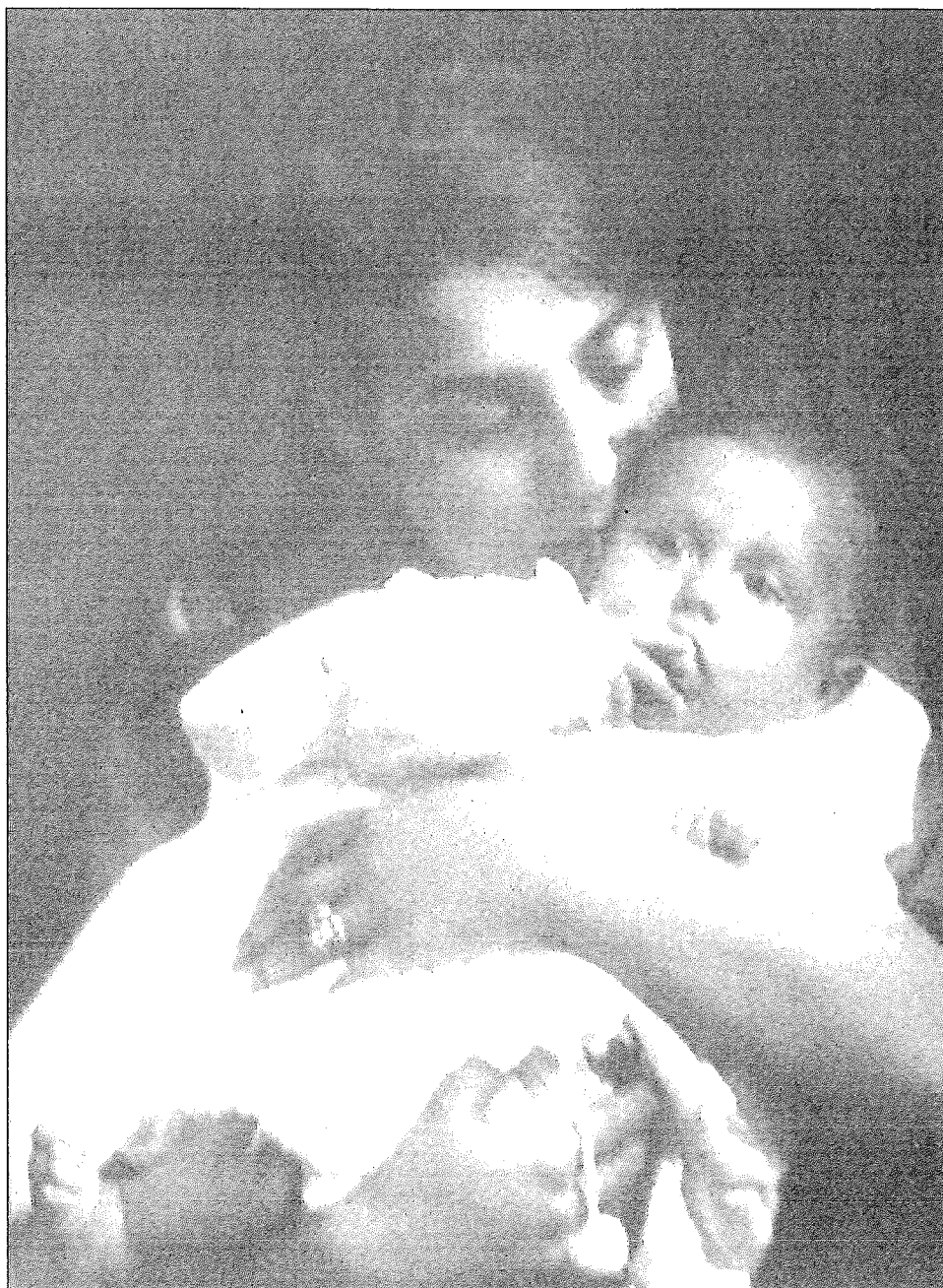


Fig.: 49

Title: *Mina with Baby John* (c. 1920)

Collection: priv. coll., Motueka



Fig.: 50

Title: *Mina with John at No. 78, Poole Street, Motueka (c. 1925)*

Collection: priv. coll., Motueka



Fig.: 51

Title: Hugh Scott: *Seascape*

Collection: BSAG

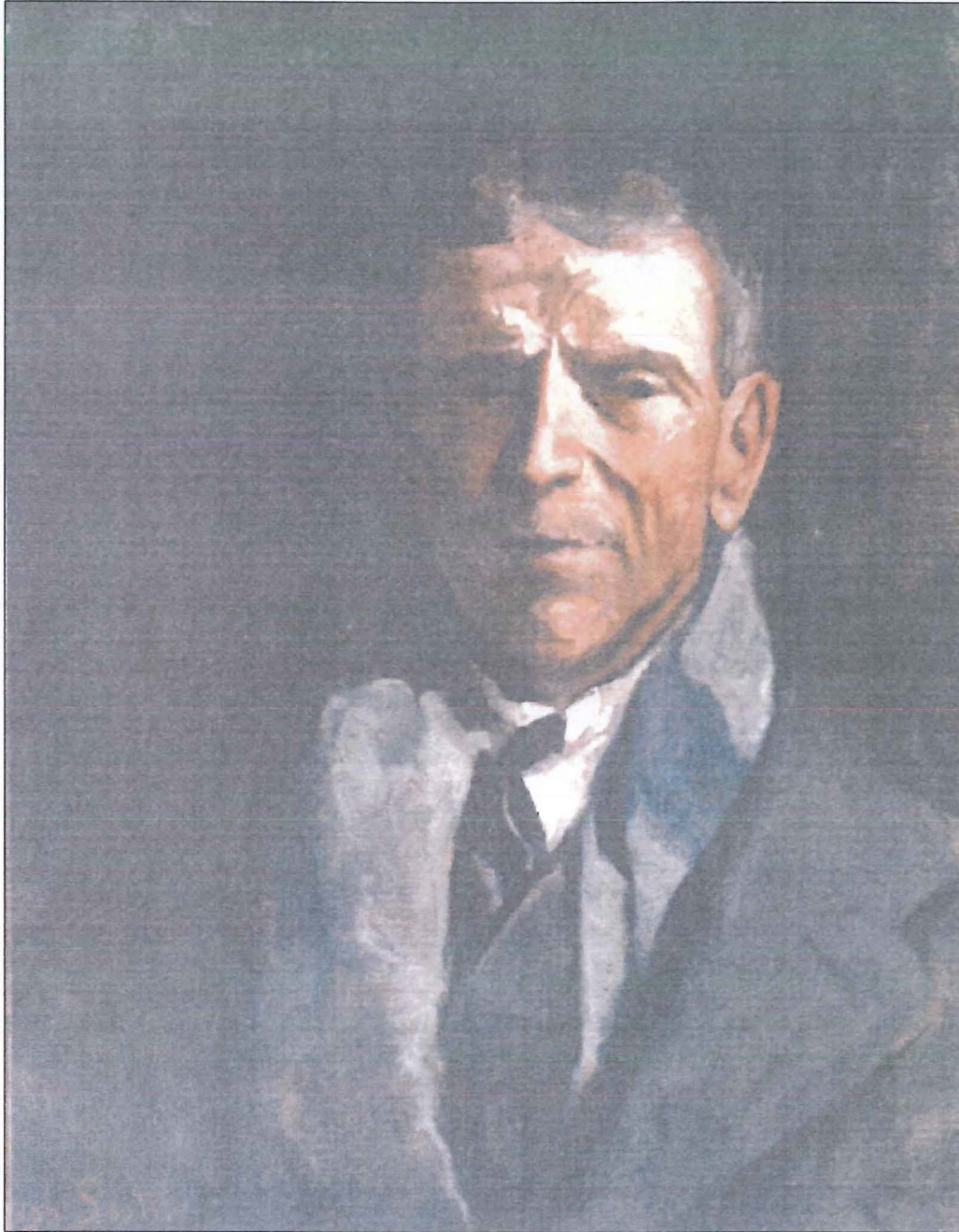


Fig.: 52

Title: Hugh Scott: *Lieutenant-Colonel Dunbar-Stewart*

Collection: BSAG



Fig.: 53

Title: Margaret Stoddart: *Apple Blossom*

Collection: Southland Art Gallery Trust, Invercargill



Fig.: 54

Title: Margaret Stoddart: *Godley House, Diamond Harbour*

Collection: RMDG

Conclusion

For nearly 35 years after her death, Mina Arndt's house in Motueka was kept as a shrine to the memory of her life and art, where interested visitors called frequently and her husband was always proud to show callers around the home and her studio. For undisclosed reasons, he did not have her work exhibited publicly again. Perhaps he considered his wife's art to have been a private, domestic pursuit, inextricably linked to the home they had shared. As it was, public interest in Arndt's artistic legacy soon faded. Following Leo Manoy's death in 1960, May and John Manoy, faced with the task of preserving and disseminating hundreds of Mina's works, decided to honour her memory with a grand gesture. They organised two large retrospectives of her work, one held in November 1960 at the Nelson Suter Gallery, the other in 1961 at the NZAFA in Wellington, acknowledging her as an artist of both regional and national significance. At the same time, May and John Manoy donated many of Mina's works to public galleries throughout New Zealand, the gifts representing, in most cases, the choices the various galleries made from the works exhibited in 1961. That same year, a smaller touring retrospective travelled from Auckland to Christchurch and Dunedin, while another was held in Palmerston North in 1967.

Commenting on the large 1961 retrospective, which comprised 197 works, critic Hessel Bond summed up her work as 'appropriate to her age and era, and wonderfully stimulating in scope and methods'.⁵¹⁷ The writer for *The Evening Post* regretted 'that the name of Mina Arndt...means little or nothing to the present generation'⁵¹⁸ and Peter McLeavey even called on the NZAFA to commission a monograph on her and other forgotten historical artists such as Dorothy K. Richmond or even Van der Velden.⁵¹⁹ In 1976, the latter was reclaimed for New Zealand art history as an influential 'old master', who introduced early generations of New Zealand's born artists to European standards of professionalism and made a significant contribution to this country's landscape tradition.⁵²⁰ As already mentioned, in the 1960s, scholarly

⁵¹⁷ *The Dominion*, 28 June 1961, p. 15.

⁵¹⁸ *The Evening Post*, 23 June 1961, p. 6.

⁵¹⁹ Unsourced, undated newspaper clipping (MAPM)

⁵²⁰ See Wilson (1976).

attention in New Zealand focused on modernist trends in art and the continued possibilities of the landscape genre, undermining to large degree, but fortunately not entirely, the efforts of Arndt's descendants to keep the memory of her life and art alive.

Since the early 1970s, feminist scholarship has pulled into sharp focus not only the very real contributions women have made to the history of Western art, but also how changing social and cultural contexts affect female artistic production. Initially, this research focused largely on the lives of European women artists, while their counterparts in New Zealand had to wait until 1986 for Anne Kirker's survey on this country's women artists to be published. By that time, post-modern theory had begun to discourage many feminist art historians from the pursuit of empirical historical research, which recorded the works and opinions of those women artists who had been silenced by the allegedly objective and dauntingly authoritative voice of the master narrative (often on the grounds that their work just did not measure up to that of their male colleagues.) Much of recent feminist art history thus concerned itself with broader theoretical themes, but perhaps at a price. As the case of Arndt illustrates, research into individual, lived experience (even if it addresses one of this country's so-called lesser artists) affirms the rich diversity within this category labelled 'women' and offers a useful framework for the documentation and interrogation of wider, overlapping contexts as they affect the lives of all artists. In the New Zealand context, this monograph, rather than inserting Mina Arndt into a narrative which marginalised her in the first place, aims expand the reach of this country's art history by taking as its main focus the shifting social and cultural contexts affecting a local woman artist's education, career opportunities and professional conduct, as well as the scope and nature of her work. By delivering a case study into the making of a female New Zealand artist, the present thesis not only aims to contribute to the construction of a more inclusive cultural history of this country, but also undertakes to further elucidate why New Zealand has generated the art it did.

It was Mina Arndt's Jewish family background, placing her within one of colonial New Zealand's most sophisticated, enlightened and enterprising communities, which first nurtured her artistic aspirations. Hers was a secure childhood, growing up as part of close knit family, which valued, and could afford an

extensive education for Mina and her two sisters. Therein, Mina was fortunate to grow up in the liberal, cultural climate of late 19th-century Dunedin, where educational opportunities for girls were readily available. While Mina did not depend on the encouragement of an artist parent or relative, the social circumstances of her upbringing were nevertheless vital to the formation of her professional ambitions.

Moreover, Mina Arndt's family background offers a glimpse of the significant contribution the Jewish community of New Zealand made to this country, not only in economical and political terms, but also in a cultural context. Mina Arndt is one of only two known Jewish New Zealand artists of her time, the other being Grace Joel, and their exceptional status in the art history of this country needs to be compared to the visibility of Jewish women artists within other cultures. Similarly, Arndt's career raises questions about patterns of patronage of the arts within the Jewish community here, and how this compares to patterns of patronage in Australia, Europe or North America. Furthermore, as the record of her family life and her movements overseas has demonstrated, Arndt had access to and was supported by something akin to a global Jewish community, and chose in many cases her teachers and advisers from the Jewish artistic community. This raises interesting questions as to the position of Jews in Western art production before WW2, how they occupied more than one cultural space at once, and how they reconciled their Jewishness with an artistic context dominated by Gentile culture. Thus it is interesting to observe that being Jewish in some respects affected Arndt's art practice more when she was in Europe than later in New Zealand.

In Germany, for example, she was taught by Hermann Struck, whose work drew strongly on and was enriched by his Jewish orthodox values and encouraged Mina to explore Jewish subject matter herself. Once she returned to New Zealand, she experienced not only geographical and artistic isolation, but was also separated from the cultural heritage of her European ancestors. Not only was New Zealand's Jewish congregation small and, by implication, its cultural life limited, it also pursued a path of advanced assimilation which discouraged visual expressions or reminders of racial and religious difference. Thus her work only rarely expresses her Jewish heritage.

Instead, Mina Arndt's education, characterised by British cultural conventions, determined many aspects of her later career. Tertiary art training in early 20th-century New Zealand was mono-cultural and utilitarian in focus, and, as exemplified by Arndt's experiences at the Wellington Technical School, only rudimentary in nature. This made it necessary for any ambitious aspiring New Zealand artist of her generation to study abroad. In the case of Arndt, the nature of her training abroad was largely determined by her family's interests and connections and thus took in an unusual variety of artistic influences, further highlighting how family influence decisively shaped the educational and career opportunities of female artists of her era.

At first, Mina and her family travelled to London. There, her involvement with Brangwyn and Lambert at the London School of Art represents an early deviation from the usual patterns of tutelage adhered to by New Zealand art students abroad. On the other hand, Brangwyn probably had a much larger influence on colonial art students than thus far realised, especially on Australian students. In Arndt, he encouraged a marked drawing ability and an experimentation with different media, which she maintained for the remainder of her career. Brangwyn's influence on Arndt thus demonstrates the crucial role male mentors played in the formation of female artists.

All of Arndt's male teachers in Europe were known for the technical excellence of their work, which they achieved by subordinating all other aspects of their lives to their profession. This was then the prerogative of the male artist. Women artists who adopted a similar professional stance, remained an exception, as exemplified by the career of Frances Hodgkins. To become a modern, professional artist meant that she had to leave New Zealand and remain unmarried and childless. Her art practice became more important to her than any emotional attachments or family obligations. Thus, from colonial beginnings she went on to become one of Britain's leading early 20th-century moderns. The price she paid for her outstanding artistic achievement were many years of isolation and loneliness, but she recognised this to be part and parcel of an artist's life.⁵²¹ By contrast, Arndt, who was always securely embedded in a family network, never embraced her professional identity as fully as Hodgkins did. Although it was Arndt's family which encouraged and enabled her to consider a

⁵²¹ See E. H. McCormick (1954), p. 231.

career in the arts in the first place, they also, whether knowingly or not, expected her to reconcile that ambition with the more traditional feminine roles of daughter, sister, wife and mother. Similar observations have been made about Mina Arndt's contemporary, Edith Collier.⁵²² The cases of Arndt and Collier thus confirm that although 'their times told them of woman's right to choose and a woman's ability to achieve, their society discouraged them from analysing their choices and conditioned them to minimise their achievements.'⁵²³ This reflects itself in the limited nature of much of Arndt's work, which, despite of her obvious talent, only rarely corresponds to the standards achieved by all her teachers.

Arndt's social background and family circumstances also mitigated against her involvement in more progressive art circles. From Brangwyn, who held little respect for the avant-garde, Mina Arndt went on to study with the painters of Newlyn, a group of artists Brangwyn himself had worked alongside of. From here emerges another pattern in Mina Arndt's training abroad and which indeed mirrors the choices made by other female New Zealand artists at the time: betraying her colonial upbringing and her social positioning as a respectable, middle-class woman, she decided to study with artists whose practice was up-to-date, but not avant-garde. Her unusually long involvement with the artistic community of Newlyn thus left a lingering impression on her and the nature of her work.

Under the tutelage of Stanhope and Elizabeth Forbes, Arndt broadened her skills considerably and began to extend herself as a figure painter. While the example of Elizabeth Forbes encouraged her to adopt some of the habitual subject matters of female artists, such as women and children, her training in Newlyn also involved (as was the case in London and Berlin) extensive study of the life nude model. Arndt's interest in this kind of work remained focused on 'anatomical correctness' (as pre-determined by social and cultural conventions governing 'appropriate', middle-class behaviour, signifying her serious professional intentions and highlighting further the role played by an artist's perceived achievement in the hierarchy of genres. Her move back to the

⁵²² See Joanne Drayton, *Edith Collier: Her Life and Work (1885-1964)*, PhD Thesis, University of Canterbury, 1998, pp. 162-163.

⁵²³ Pamela Gerrish Nunn, *Canvassing: Recollections by Six Victorian Women Artists*, London, 1986, p. 17.

conservative social climate of New Zealand certainly did not foster any further involvement with the nude, which may have encouraged her to use the genre in more meaningful ways. Instead, the subject matter of 'peasant portraiture' represents the lasting influence her stay in Cornwall left on her work. Newlyn offered her a supportive social network of the kind she relied on for most of her life, especially the company of other female artists and art students. This provided her with a base from which to prepare her regular submissions to the Royal Academy and the Paris Salon. Therein, she followed a pattern adhered to by many local artists and demonstrates again how her continued involvement with the artistic community of Newlyn discouraged her exploring more recent trends and practices in French art.

Mina Arndt never trained in France. Instead her family travelled to Berlin, where her mother had many relatives. While her years in Berlin coincided with the emergence of Expressionism and also allowed her to study examples of the French avant-garde first hand, Arndt's training in Berlin, unparalleled in the history of early 20th-century New Zealand artists, continued to isolate her from the most recent developments in French modernism. In Berlin, she focused on early modernist tendencies in French art as they filtered through into the work of her teachers. Arndt admired the rational use of line and colour, reminiscent of Whistlerian concepts of art, which Julie Wolfthorn had brought to bear on a wide variety of figural and landscape subjects. Wolfthorn, rather than Corinth, was Arndt's first choice of teacher, demonstrating further the importance of the community of women in the history of female artists. Arndt's contact with Corinth (as well as Struck) introduced her to a particular variant of German Impressionism which was characterised by lingering concepts of German Romanticism and Naturalism. In Germany, she developed a vigorous, painterly style, which she used in portraits of at times great emotional depth.

Armed with such skills, she returned home to establish herself as a professional artist. There, she had to overcome the detrimental economic and social effects WW1 had on New Zealand and possible discrimination against her because of her German heritage. As it was, her training abroad left her rather ill-prepared for the kind of art preferred by her New Zealand audiences, namely landscape,

still life and flower painting. Small-scale landscape and flower painting were the genres established local female professionals like Margaret Stoddart based their careers on, notions of femininity or desirable female conduct thus shaping their artistic persona. Where critical attention was given to a female figure painter, it focused largely on society portraiture produced by artists such as Elizabeth Kelly or Mary E. Tripe. Equally, Arndt's depiction of Maori, unsentimental as it was, never reached the popular appeal of, for example, the formulaic work of C. F. Goldie. Eventually the artistic preferences of her New Zealand audiences undermined her ambition as a figure painter and increasingly she included the more popular genres of still life and landscape in her art practice - her case thus confirming the crucial role social mobility and a gendered society played in development and survival of an artist.

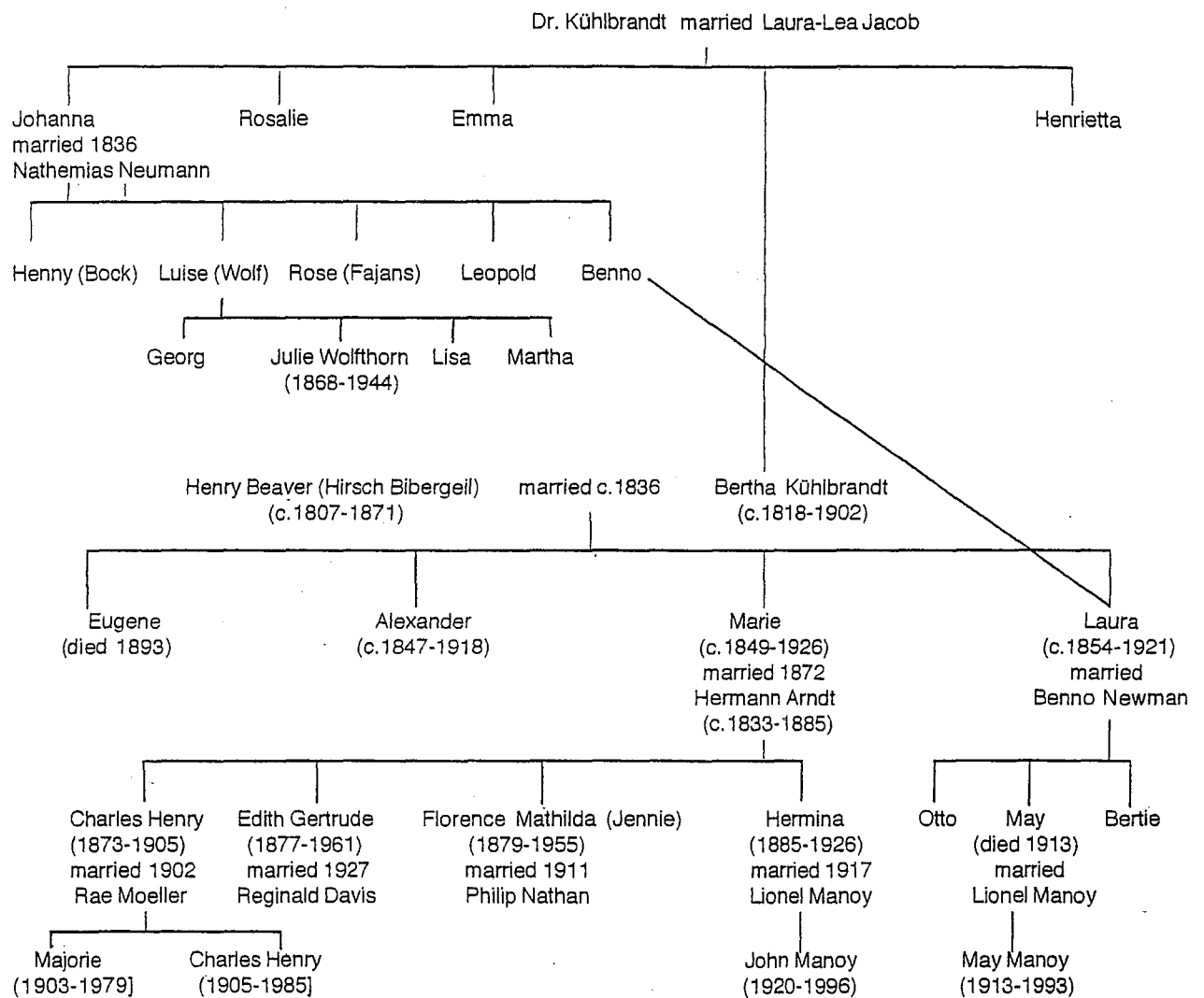
The demise of Arndt's artistic focus was hastened by her marriage in 1917, which entailed a move to remote Motueka. Her husband actively supported his wife's continued professional involvement with the arts and provided her with the necessary domestic help needed for household and childcare obligations. Leo Manoy's attitudes towards his wife's professional ambitions reflect the progressive outlook he, a cultured and educated Jew himself, had on all educational matters. But even his ongoing support could not make up for the artistic isolation Mina faced in provincial New Zealand, and the detrimental effect her new family responsibilities had on her professional conduct. As she endeavoured to cope with her new environment, she followed the example of other New Zealand women artists and changed her professional focus. Society portraiture, which brought a measure of fame to Elizabeth Kelly and Mary E. Tripe did not suit Arndt's interest nor would it have been easy to secure such commissions in remote Motueka. There the more obvious choice was to follow the example of artists like Margaret Stoddart, and Arndt began to incorporate, with mixed success, flower painting, still life and landscape into her work. She did so in an effort to develop the all important professional status for herself, mindful of the detrimental effect an impression of amateurism had on artistic reputations.

In the end, Arndt's landscape sketches resulted in the most extensive known record of the Motueka region up to the 1920s. The larger pastels of her home environment, articulating as they do the position of an artist isolated in domestic

comfort and cut off from a wider artistic community, represent a flowering of her skills as a pastellist. Some of these raise interesting questions concerning her use of her domestic servants as models, whom she portrayed across the divide of class. Thus this account of Arndt's career contributes to and encourages the investigation of wider fields of inquiry into early 20th-century New Zealand art. Would not a history of figure painting reveal as much about (colonial) New Zealand society as much as a history of landscape painting? Similarly, drawing, which represents the dominant aspect of Arndt's art practice has never attracted the kind of art historical attention in New Zealand as painting did. When the history of New Zealand drawing will be written, it is hoped that Arndt will find her rightful place in this account. Her very versatility, which during her lifetime possibly discriminated against her, now encourages her inclusion in further texts on New Zealand art.

In such ways, the present thesis highlights many of the shortcomings of much of New Zealand art history. It serves as a reminder that this country's art history is a text under construction, marginalising too many contributions to New Zealand's cultural history. As demonstrated here, the monograph can play a vital role in the formation of a more inclusive account of this history. By bringing into focus the careers of individual New Zealand artists, it allows, for example, for a more considered comparison of the changing patterns of female *and* male artistic production in this country. Moreover, the present thesis demonstrates how New Zealand's artistic heritage is ill served by nationalist, patriarchal modes of enquiry, which find it wanting in most of the categories adhered to by traditional art history. This monograph, which marks the making of a woman artist, but also the making of a New Zealand artist, reveals not only some of the diversity of this country's cultural heritage. It also adds to our understanding of the social and cultural forces shaping New Zealand art and thus serves as an example of the kind of art history this country needs to do justice to its artistic heritage.

Appendix I:
Mina Arndt's Family Tree (On Her Mother's Side)



Appendix II:

Some Statistics Concerning the Jewish Population of New Zealand.

Year:	Total number of Jews living in New Zealand:
1867	1247
1871	1262
1874	1315
1880	1536
1896	1549
1911	2128
1916	2345
1921	2380
1926	2567 (representing about 0.25% of the total population of New Zealand.)

In 1921, 91% of the Jewish population of New Zealand lived in urban communities.

Occupations of male New Zealand Jews [in 1926]:	Dominion Average:
Professional: 7.11%	4.78%
Domestic: 2.51%	1.43%
Commercial: 32.50%	9.39%
Transport: 3.56%	8.45%
Industry: 20.05%	15.82%
Prim. Prod. 2.91%	22.90%
Others: 4.44%	4.11%
Dependents: 26.92%	33.12%

(Source: Balkind, p. 62)

Appendix III:

A Brief Chronology Concerning the Life of Mina Arndt and Her Family.

c.1833	Hermann Arndt is born in Prussia.
c.1847	Marie Beaver is born in Poland.
c.1863	Hermann Arndt settles in the Arrow District, Central Otago.
c. 1870	Marie Beaver and her family settle in Dunedin.
1872	Hermann Arndt and Marie Beaver are married on 19 November at Dunedin.
1873	Charles Henry Arndt is born on 29 November at Arrowtown.
1877	Edith Gertrude Arndt is born on 15 January at Cromwell.
1879	Florence Matilda (Jennie) Arndt is born on 28 November at Thurlby Domain, Arrowtown.
1885	Hermann Arndt dies on 4 March at Thurlby Domain, Arrowtown.
1885	Hermina Arndt is born on 18 April at Thurlby Domain, Arrowtown.
1885/1886	Marie Arndt winds up her affairs at Arrowtown and moves back to Dunedin with her children.
1887	Marie Arndt is listed as residing at Maitland Street, Dunedin.
1888	Marie Arndt and her children are listed as residing at Walker Street, Dunedin. They share a house with Benno and Laura Neumann and their children.
1889	Alexander Beaver joins the family as a boarder.
1890-1892	The Arndt family shares a house with the Neumann family at Heriot Row, Dunedin.
1892	Mina Arndt is enrolled at George Street Primary School, Dunedin.
1893	Marie Arndt and her children are listed as residing at 250 Leith Street, Dunedin, where they live with Marie Arndt's mother, Bertha Beaver.

- 1896 The family is joined by Alexander Beaver.
- 1897 Mina Arndt leaves George Street Primary School, which she attended to Standard 6.
Alexander Beaver establishes the firm of A.Beaver & Co., Jewellers.
- 1898 Mina Arndt is enrolled at Girton College for Girls, Dunedin, in January. She is listed as studying Latin.
Harry Arndt, who is still living with the family, works as a 'commercial traveller'. Benno Neumann, who also works as a travelling sales man, and his family are listed as residing with the Arndts at 250 Leith Street, Dunedin.
- 1900 Harry Arndt and the Neumanns no longer reside with the Arndts, instead James Hendry (of J. Hendry and Sons) is boarding with them for that year.
- 1902 Bertha Beaver dies on 10 May, aged eighty four. Mina Arndt leaves Girton College. Charles Henry Arndt marries Rae Moeller at Wellington.
- 1904 The Arndt family leaves Dunedin.
- 1905 Marie Arndt is listed residing at 18 McDonald Crescent, Wellington, where she lives with her daughters for the next two years. Mina Arndt attends Wellington Technical School for the whole year.
- 1905 Charles Henry Arndt, dies on 23 September at Stratford, Taranaki, of Asphyxia. His occupation is listed as 'land agent'. He is survived by his wife, a two-year old daughter, Marjorie, and a one-day old son named Charles Henry.
- 1906 Mina Arndt attends Wellington Technical School for the whole year.
- 1907 Marie Arndt and her three daughters leave Wellington in February to travel to London.
- 1907 Mina meets Harold Speed, S. Melton Fisher, and Solomon Joseph Solomon in London during May-July. She receives an invitation to an exhibition of work by students at the London School of Art, Kensington, on 6 July.
- 1907-1908 Mina Arndt studies with Stanhope and Elizabeth Forbes from October 1907 to February 1908 at Newlyn. There she also makes the acquaintance of Laura Knight.

- 1908 Mina Arndt is at Newlyn in December, where she studies again with Stanhope Forbes until February 1909.
- 1909 Mina Arndt visits S. Joseph Solomon at his London studio on 7 March.
- 1909 The *British- Australian Magazine*, dated 18 March, notes that 'Miss Mina Arndt of Wellington, has been studying painting in London with Frank Brangwyn and others at the London School of Art, and has just received the honour of a monitorship in one of the chief classes there- a position carrying with it many advantages. Last winter Miss Arndt worked in Newlyn...with Mr. Stanhope Forbes.'
- 1909 In October, Mina Arndt informs her New Zealand relatives that she and her family have been in Berlin for a few weeks. She gives as her address as 8 Lietzenburger Strasse, Charlottenburg. This may have been the address of her studio. Jennie Arndt receives a reference from the English Department of the University of Berlin in November.
- 1910 Jennie Arndt, who had given recital lessons in English at a High School and Teacher' College for Girls in Berlin on 3 May, receives a reference from the school, dated 3 June.
- 1911 Mina Arndt receives an invitation to a costume ball, to be held on 18 February at Harden (Berlin).
In May, Philip Nathan informs his father of his engagement to Jennie Arndt. He writes that Jennie has been earning her living teaching and reciting at high schools in Berlin for 'the last three years.' On 30 May, Mina Arndt receives an etching by Struck, inscribed in German, 'to remember him by'. In June, Mina Arndt and her family are en route to London via Holland or Belgium. Marie and Jennie Arndt travel to Sydney, where Jennie marries Philip Nathan in November. Together with Marie Arndt, the couple returns to Wellington.
- 1912 Mina Arndt receives a further etching by Struck on 12 July, again as a personal memento.
- 1913 Mina Arndt is working in Newlyn in February. There she exhibits some of her works at the Passmore Edwards Gallery in March. Together with Edith, she visits family in London in May. Mina receives another etching by Struck on 18 June.
- 1914 Mina Arndt exhibits in Newlyn in March. She receives a number etchings by Struck-'to remember him by'-on 20 September.

- 1915 Mina Arndt arrives back in New Zealand in February or March. On 3 March she opens a solo exhibition at her studio at 10 Willis Street, Wellington, where she resides until 1917.
- 1916 Mina becomes a working member of the NZAFA, Wellington.
- 1917 She marries businessman Lionel (Leo) Manoy on 14 February and moves to Motueka. They live at 9 Poole Street, Motueka, where Mina has an attic studio. Mina joins the Nelson Suter Art Society as a working member.
- 1920 John Manoy, Mina Arndt's only child is born. John is Leo Manoy's second child. He already has daughter, May, from his previous marriage to Mina's cousin Laura Newman. Laura died in 1913, a few days after giving birth to May.
- 1922 Mina Arndt travels to Taranaki.
- 1925 Mina Arndt is elected Vice-President of the Nelson branch of the National Art Association of New Zealand on May 21. She conducts a 'Summer School of Painting' in Motueka.
- 1926 Mina is elected Vice President of the Nelson Suter Art Society on 9 March. Marie Arndt dies on July 23 at Wellington, aged seventy seven. Mina Arndt dies of Nephritis on 22 December, at Jennie Nathan's house in Wellington, aged forty one.

Appendix IV:

Letters by Mina and Edith Arndt

a) Letters from Mina Arndt to her family

21 October 1909

8 Lietzenburgerstrasse
Charlottenburg
Berlin. D.

Darlings,

I hope our letters coming so irregularly for the last two mails has not caused you worry. We all had been told that writing as usual for the out going mail on Friday was the right time. Until the other day, a Miss Hook, an Australian, a journalist living here, told us we must post on Thurs. night if we wanted to catch the mail, we were in a state about it, but now it won't occur again, & you will get our weekly news as usual. in every way in a strange land one has to take time to thoroughly get used to things, it is all so different. We are gradually settling down Though for my part am not. have been going to all the different studios here to see where to work in but still cannot decide its frightfully hard to know what to do. What I want to do while here is to work with Julie, that is, if she can get perhaps 4 or 5 others to share model fees. I won't pay any more than I did in London. I love her style, its so rational & beautiful tone & colour. She has been a Paris student & has never altogether lost the influence of both Whistler & Aman Jean. You can't imagine the Corint School I went to, I wish you could only see it. Corint is a marvel but the students as far as I can see are the most poisonous productions. One sees faces painted in a [scene] of green & purple. Then I went to a [show] Fritz Burger, he has just opened a school. Am considering that. - Yesterday I went 'ganz allein' to a studio in Lutzowstrasse, a Hans Baluschek, well know, its a school for women, but sort of ladylike place where one worships the master & does mostly tidy work. I hate those school. Then i had an awfully nice note from a well known artist here, Joseph Oppenheimer, he had given me a few lessons in London about 6 or 8 months after we came to England. I took one or two nudes & portraits to show him & he was so delighted with my work, said I've improved so wonderfully, he doesn't teach, but gave me such good advice. Showed [him] his work & we had tea in the atelier, was so nice. It was so kind of him , the way he spoke & the people we meet are most kind. I must say, but honestly the atmosphere here doesn't appeal a bit to me. I'm not prejudiced a bit

either, cos have been about too much for that & every nation though quite dissimilar in sentiment & everything else has its strong points. But the [Fritzes] in the streets the pictures in the shops, the modern trend in art, in living, it doesn't give one that feeling of freshness & cleanness. I'd rather live in Wellington any day than in Berlin I still say and one can be jolly proud of the life of the colonies. Of course please don't think I'm not appreciating the good that Berlin offers. There is a great deal everywhere, if not so much in Painting, [yet] in Sculpture & in Music. what a world of Music it is. There are 5000 Americans here, studying music or singing. imagine. Then the surroundings; the little I have yet seen are perfectly glorious, its all so interesting, all so different. I haven't told you of I saw [Riesinger's] 'Jour' last Saturday. That was a continental atmosphere & crowd. Jennie & I went. Jennie looked charming, had a sweet little white satin frock, only £3.3 she bought it some time ago in London from Madam ..., & I had the [maizy] colored one I have had for ages, got it for [Stein's] first dance, it is awfully pretty, & had a had a Grecian sort of head gear quite simple. We at first were introduced to several, there were 200 people there & she has 4 huge Salons. Afterwards an artist, a woman came & spoke to me, then a little Italian asked if she could present her husband or brother or something, a 'bildhauerr' & two funny little very italianisch looking little men. Then there was a very smart looking woman & her daughter, from Shanghai they come. they spoke to us, one heard every language around, quaint looking people one saw, all sorts.- I thought [Friedenthal] would be there but he wasn't, haven't seen him yet. there was such an interesting programme for an hour ... I must send you one just to see.- then we talked a little more & came home, 5 till 8 the hour is. [The] artist, [Warhseur] has asked to come to her atelier, was so very pressing. this part of the Life is great, so interesting and so varied.-You see one has to take time to really feel settled. I know I have, its all so new- so strange- What do you think I did yesterday. Near here, in the Gedechnis Kirche, there was a huge military wedding. I went the music was so good & someone sang 'Caro Mia Beno' most beautifully. A German wedding is different from English, the church is beautiful, though very modern in style. Elsa came with me at first, but couldn't wait, she had her lesson from [Gerste] yesterday. I heard her sing yesterday, she sings with excellent style & sympathetically, but the actual organ is not wonderful, it being fairly sweet but not really so very good.- Edie & I went to a concert in the Bluthner Saal on Monday night. - Frau [Riesinger] gave us tickets for Fadora, have never heard of him. ... one of the most extraordinary looking men, very tall & very thin with side whiskers, wore a collar with a lot of black velvet bound round. you never saw

such a Jane Austen type in [your] life. I can't say I enjoyed the concert so very much. It was a marvellous display of technicality but apart from that had very little interest. the one player of ... to me is [Parmann], he is a marvel & a joy to listen to. there will be glorious concerts here later, the season is just beginning. I love the Liederabends best, German Songs are delightful.- Two students have taken the two back rooms they come from Brazil & are typical 'nuts' excuse me! I had to - longish hair & soft collars, but have only [seen] them in passing. One plays the cello & the other the piano beautifully & we don't hear them with the doors closed unless of course we want to.- Well, darlings, I must stop. Doesn't this all sound strange to you, I can imagine, -& it is strange but we go our own way & mind our own affairs, take all the good we care & so live the days happily. Have never seen Mother look better in my life than she does now, she loves being here & the relations couldn't be nicer. Jen recites at the Jour at [Riesingers] on Sat. Lots of love & kisses ...

10 February 1913, Trewarveneth, Paul:

Darling Mumie & all my dearests,

Again I'm here - supper over-half asleep after a busy day, but must have a chat before going to bed. Just now I am feeling very weary as evening approaches as it were, as have a lot to think of & work at. It's extraordinary the amount of work these beastly shows do give one, I shall be thankful when the things are all done with - Today sent off: what's to try its luck again at the Salon and decided the best things were 2 small etchings, one dry point of an evening effect of the pathway, & the tiny Rembrandt beggar woman, & for the oil that lying figure of the woman, - 'nude' - on which I have worked a good deal lately. They are the most likely things I think... I have other things I could have sent to Paris, but think it better to do as I have, - I keep the others for London. After all as long as I get into the Salon again, it's all I want but it's all a matter of luck, so darlings, please don't count on it or 'expect'. Have had a perfectly wonderful week really, no wonder I am tired. Today finished a charming little picture of that woman holding a little baby, then called for Stanhope Forbes, who most kindly came down to see me at 'Uplong Studio' - wasn't it nice of him-of course a visit from the 'Professor' in person in one's private workshop made all the students chatter. I'm jolly glad good friends tho with all, everyone is so nice. Stanie loves the painting I'm sending to Paris - was awfully keen on the way I

handled the paint & colour & quite advised its going. Since [then I have] packed it up & with the etchings we gave the little parcel our blessing & sent it off.

It's the academy tho' I have me doots about.-There are two jolly good heads in charcoal - have had them framed together, but now Stanie thinks [they stand perhaps more chance being alone.] I do so want to send them though as they are, they look so fresh and direct as they are..I have this little picture of 'the young mother' I will I think send, he likes it immensely but it's so 'unacademic', its far more French then there is another one called 'Mary' upon my mind. Stanie was most interested, simply loved the studio - thought it so charmingly arranged & so on but he wants me to set to & paint an interior of the studio - a sketch in charcoal [I] have already done or 1/2 of it is done he says I can [easily] do in the next two weeks - but feel so tired I don't know that I can I can't strain myself cos' then the thing won't be specially good. I have been going for it so - now for the last two months. Anyhow never fear please goodness something of the many masterpieces will get in. Will try my luck with 2 I think. By now you know, no doubt, of the wonderful commission, the £20 commission- heard about on [Monday] I have told Jennie all about & Edie has told you, is [it] a joy, darlings. I know how [bucked] you will feel too. I don't paint the boy till August, when he & his father come to Newlyn - really only for that-it is extraordinary the luck of it. The father is evidently a very wealthy retired navy man- this is his one boy. [Wright], my friend here, who has just come back from Switzerland, who brought me that charming ring I told you off (ever since I've worn it I 've had luck) told me Captain Dresser wanted Bill his 13 year old son painted by some artist for £20. She thought of me & asked me if I'd do it. Naturally I jumped at it - I'm to meet Capt. Dresser in London in March, no May, when Ed & I hope to be in town for a month & ... ourselves, see the Academy, - where I trust one thing of mine will grace the wall....(no further pages)

b) Letter from Edith Arndt to her family:

10 February 1913

Trewarveneth, Paul nr Penzance

Darling Mummy & all at Webb St

What a week we have had of it I seem to have so much to talk about don't know where to start. It's a wonderful mor what do you think of our Buds, I always said that that was a fine child. If things go on like this will be buying a motor, ha ha but be sensible which I find extremely difficult to be this morning....Tuesday last week, Wright a perfectly fine child of a girl was having tea with us & Maudie Palmer, she has just come home from winter sports in the Tyrol. She asked Buds if she'd [like] a com.[commission] for £20 to paint a young son of a captain Dresser. He, the cpt. was one of their family & he asked her if she knew anyone who would do it & Wright thought of Buds. Also (wie mann in Deutschland sagte) she is to meet the capt, in London in Ap. or May & he and 'Bill' the boy are going to come to Traverneth in August when the masterpiece is to be done. Ach: Leben is good, we seem to be going from better to best since we came here. Though I don't wish to [brag] Mrs Arndt, but your two daughters are very popular. Really its wonderful how people make our life pleasant or unpleasant... in every way this action of Wright's will show you, how each one is only too pleased to help the other, then everyone seems so pleased when one has a bit of luck they all congratulate & and make no end of a fuss. This week has been awfully gay, a card party, fancy we at .. playing like pros & me coming home with the booby prize tucked under my arm. Today, at least this morning Stanhope is down at the studio to give Buds a little advice about what to send to the Salon & Academy. Fancy if she gets in both the £20 commission & having sold that etching in N.Z. all at the beginning of den Jahr 1913. I feel absolutely busting with excitement. I don't wish to brag Mrs Arndt....and Mr Beaver but that child is doing something wirklich ins die Uplong atelier. There is some kind providence watching us fancy had we gone to Rome. P.... the one & only, in trouble over his mother's death, us in a foreign country, Here I have [thank god] once more grown into the healthy old Edilein...for now its only in the last two months I can say that before though I was well to a certain extent I often had days when I felt rotten. Neuralgia & never free from indigestion. Today I can say I am better than I have been for years. It seems quaint to talk like this but that business of last year took me nearly 12 months to get rid of its effect. This place is the most exquisite spot on earth for the body & mind, the glorious air, even though the

Cornish folk are convinced that the winter has been bad, I being a 'conneisseur' on weather say that we have had no winter at all. It only the beginning of Feb now & if you could only see the sky about like a blue mantle, the sun casting long shadows across the grass which is pale grey with dew, primroses & violets daffodils & crocusses all out & coming out as hard as they can in the flower beds & the birds busy twittering in the tree. this place is lovely & then not so far from London. We are so comfy & well looked after our rooms are always so full of fresh air, Buds looks so well though she does get tired überhaupt es giebt nur ein wort 'unberufen'? !! Weiss wer? Now to our doings, last Thursday we were out all day bis abend 12 Uhr. in the morning I went to my French I am getting on so well now really its the greatest pleasure to me & Melle... is such a nice girl, she brought me some German books & Lindt choc from Zurich as a present. I earlier asked her to get me the books but she would not take any money for it.

In the afternoon we were at a tea party at the Fawkes one od our special pals & in the ev at Maudie Palmers party which was great fun. Friday afternoon another studio party Sat. Penzance & a long walk. Sunday wa had a tea here & supper in the ev. Monday Wright came in, yesterday I went to Penzance for my lesson had lunch at ... as I had some business to talk about a dance a few of us are giving in Knights studio on Sat eve. I am going to get into my boots & go for a walk, so darling won't write any more at present.

Abends 9 Uhr. We have just finished our supper have been out all day, its been a dream today, you remember Mummy one of those exquisite Cornish days. At lunch Buds told me all about Stanhopes visit to the studio but she will tell you of it herself ...? After lunch we packed up the parcel & i took it to the Noolyn P.O. to send to...who is framing the things & sending them off to Paris. I said a short prayer as they went out of my hand, do hope they get in. After I went along to the Uplong & saw a thing Buds has done in [Thorps] studio, of a mother with a small baby in her lap. Sitting against a white wall on the window sill, a table by her side & a shelf above with some china above its simply stunning full of charm & feeling very French I do hope it gets into the R.A. Its not very Academy like in its style but it is a charming thing. Anyhow Buds has a few weeks grace now Paris is fixed up & the things are gone & time to decide about the Academy; our cup of happiness will be full if she gets things into both shows. [Vat] with the [border] u.s.w we really ... I really am sure anything might happen. I have to be up ... tomorrow morning, at P.Z. by 10.30 I have to call on Carlton Woods about the supper for Sats dance. i am having that unfortunate grey you remember it fixed up into a Puritans dress; it

should make quite a decent thing. Well Mummy, my darling Mummy I must start & chat with Jane. Hope Jenny darling keeping well you are well & like the splendid new bedroom & sleep well in it. Love and kisses my darling pets, Edelein.

Appendix V:
Exhibitions by Mina Arndt, 1905-1926

1905:

Wellington, NZAFA Annual Exhibition:

- No.317: Model from Antique
- No.318: Head (charcoal)
- No.361: Bookshelf (repoussé)
- No.362: Mirror (repoussé)

1906:

Wellington, NZAFA Annual Exhibition:

- No.242: Model
- No.258: Head (charcoal)
- No.263: Head (pastel)
- No.282: Model from Antique

Christchurch, New Zealand International Exhibition (1906-7):

- No.1714
- No.1715

1907:

Wellington, NZAFA Annual Exhibition:

- No.303: Cabinet (modelled panels)

1912:

Wellington, NZAFA Annual Exhibition:

- No.148: Old Dad
- No.150: Grandmother's Dress
- No.152: A Berlin Marketwoman
- No.261: Rembrandt Copy
- No.266: Charlottenburgh Bridge
- No.268: A Jew's Head

1913:

Newlyn, PEAG, 'Pictures intended for the Royal Academy'

- Tired
- Charcoal Sketch
- (no catalogue numbers available)

Paris, SDAF, Annual Salon:

No.41: Le modèle

1914:**Christchurch, CSA Annual Arts, Crafts and Sketch Exhibition:**

No.7: Annie (Child Study)	£ 1.14.6
No.8: Church Lane, Newlyn	£ 1.5.6
No.10: Character Head	£ 2.6.6
No.11: Hungarian Beggar	£ 2.6.6
No.12: Chelsea	£ 1.14.6
No.13: An Interior	£ 3.7.6

Newlyn, PEAG, 'Pictures intended for the Royal Academy':

No.9: Elizabeth

No.29: Grandmother

Paris, SDAF, Annual Salon:

No.2108: Etude; - fusain

1915:**Dunedin, OAS Annual Exhibition:**

No.175: Homewards	£ 100.0.0
No.281: Head of a Cornish Fisherwoman	£ 15.0.0
No.334: Orpheus with his Lute	£ 3.10.0
No.389: Barges, Chelsea	£ 3.10.0
No.392: Church Lane, Newlyn	£ 3.10.0

Wellington, Solo Exhibition:

No.1: Homewards	£ 100.0.0
No.2: Elizabeth	£ 100.0.0
No.3: Tired	£ 50.0.0
No.4: Street by the Green , Newlyn	£ 20.0.0
No.5: The Market Woman	sold
No.6: The Girl with the Rabbit	£ 35.0.0
No.7: The Red Scarf	£ 20.0.0
No.8: Memories	£ 30.0.0
No.9: Gypsy Head	£ 10.10.0
No.10: Fisherman's Head	£ 8.8.0
No.11: By the Fireside	£ 10.10.0
No.12: Seawards	£ 5.0.0
No.13: Anemones	£ 7.7.0
No.14: Primrose Court, Newlyn	sold
No.15: The Patchwork Quilt	£ 5.5.0
No.16: Grandmother's Dress	£ 20.0.0
No.17: Pen and Ink Drawing	£ 1.10.0
No.18: Bistre Drawing	£ 2.0.0

No.19: Black and White Head	£ 7.7.0
No.20: Black and White Head	£ 7.7.0
No.21: Black and White Head	£ 7.7.0
No.22: Black and White Head	£ 7.7.0
No.23: Black and White Head	£ 6.6.0
No.24: Black and white Head	£ 6.6.0
No.25: Pencil Sketch :Corfe Castle, Dorset	£ 1.1.0
No.26: Pencil Drawing: Evening, Chelsea Embankment	£ 1.1.0
No.27: Pencil Drawing: Wareham, Dorset	£ 1.1.0
No.28: Pencil Drawing: Fisher Folk	£ 1.1.0
No.29: Charcoal Drawing: Annie	£ 7.7.0
No.30: Charcoal Drawing	£ 7.7.0
No.31: Pencil Drawing	£ 1.1.0
No.32: Charcoal Drawing	£ 2.2.0
No.33: Etching	£ 3.3.0
No.34: Charcoal Head	£ 7.7.0
No.35: Etching	£ 3.3.0
No.36: Dry Point Etching	£ 2.2.0
No.37: Etching	£ 2.2.0
No.38: The Cottage on the Hill, Wareham	£ 1.1.0
No.39: Church Lane, Newlyn	sold
No.40: Charlottenburg Bridge	£ 2.2.0
No.41: Etching	£ 2.2.0
No.42: Etching (exhibited in Paris Salon)	£ 3.3.0
No.43: Paper Barges, Chelsea	£ 2.2.0
No.44: Nude (Diamond Point)	£ 3.3.0
No.45: Dry Point Etching: Interior	£ 3.3.0
No.46: Charcoal Head (Paris Salon)	
No.47: Etching	£ 3.3.0
No.48: By the Window	£ 7.7.0
No.49: Greedy Annie	£ 5.5.0
No.50: Pastel (Baby)	£ 7.7.0
No.51: The Model (Exhibited in Paris Salon)	£ 25.0.0
No.52: Pencil Sketch	£ 1.1.0
No.53: Bistre Sketch	£ 1.1.0
No.54: Red Chalk Sketch	£ 1.1.0
No.55: Red Chalk Sketch	£ 1.1.0
No.56: Red Chalk Sketch	£ 1.1.0
No.57: Pencil Sketch	£ 1.1.0
No.58: Bistre Sketch	£ 1.1.0
No.59: Etching	£ 2.2.0
No.60: Pencil Sketch	£ 1.10.0
No.61: Etching	£ 1.1.0
No.62: Etching (after Rembrandt)	£ 1.10.0
No.63: Etching	£ 3.3.0
No.64: Etching (after Rembrandt)	£ 3.3.0
No.65: Etching	£ 2.2.0
No.66: Etching	£ 1.10.0

No.67: Etching (after Rembrandt)	£ 1.10.0
No.68: Etching	£ 2.2.0
No.69: Etching (after Rembrandt)	£ 2.2.0
No.70: Etching	£ 2.2.0
No.71: Etching	£ 1.10.0
No.72: Etching	£ 2.2.0
No.73: Pen and Ink Nude Drawing	£ 2.2.0
No.74: Charcoal Nude Drawing	£ 3.3.0
No.75: Pencil Sketch	£ 1.0.0
No.76: Nude Charcoal Drawing	£ 3.3.0
No.77: Charcoal Drawing	£ 5.5.0
No.78: Charcoal Drawing	£ 6.6.0
No.79: Charcoal Drawing	£ 6.6.0
No.80: Nude Charcoal Drawing	£ 5.5.0
No.81: Charcoal Drawing	£ 6.6.0
No.82: Hands, Charcoal Drawing	£ 3.3.0
No.83: Charcoal Drawing	£ 5.5.0
No.84: Charcoal Drawing	£ 5.5.0
No.85: Charcoal Drawing	£ 5.5.0
No.86: Pencil Drawing	£ 5.5.0
No.87: Charcoal Interior	£ 3.3.0
No.88: Pen and Ink Interior	£ 4.4.0
No.89: Charcoal Drawing	£ 7.7.0
No.90: Charcoal Drawing	£ 5.5.0
No.91: Head	£ 7.7.0
No.92: Pencil Sketch	£ 1.1.0
No.93: Sketch (oil)	£ 4.4.0

1916:

Auckland, ASA Annual Exhibition:

No.135: Girl with Rabbit	£ 50.0.0
No.195: Corner of Motueka Bridge	£ 6.6.0
No.333: Country near New Plymouth	£ 6.6.0
No.354: The Thinker (Charcoal)	£ 15.0.0
No.357: Head of Cornishwoman (Charcoal)	-nfs-
No.359: Head of Cornish Fisherwoman (Charcoal)	£ 15.0.0.
No.360: Miniature Etching	£ 3.3.0

Christchurch, CSA Annual Exhibition:

No.7 : Girl with the Rabbit	£ 50.0.0
No.198: Miniature Etching	£ 3.3.0
No.206: Head of Cornishman	
No.208: Country near New Plymouth	£ 6.6.0
No.214: Corner of Motueka Bridge	£ 6.6.0

Wellington, NZAFA Annual Exhibition:

No.9: The Blue Dress	£ 35.0.0
----------------------	----------

No.16: Hydrangeas	£ 12.12.0
No.91: Midsummer	£ 50.0.0
No.117: Homewards	£ 75.0.0
No.131: Within Sight of the Sea	£ 6.6.0
No.145: Charcoal Drw.	-nfs-
No.336: Dusk	-nfs-

1917:

Auckland, ASA Annual Exhibition:

No.128: Hycerangia [sic]	£ 12.12.0
No.290: Head of Old Woman	£ 3.3.0
No.292: Street, Corfe Castle, Devonshire	£ 3.3.0

Christchurch, CSA Annual Exhibition:

No.33: Hydrangea	£ 12.12.0
No.239: Street (Corfe Castle)	£ 3.3.0
No.240: Head of Old Woman	£ 3.3.0

Dunedin, OAS Annual Exhibition:

No. 426: The Quiet Hour
 No. 427: Dusk
 No. 430: Head, Charcoal Drawing, (exhibited at Paris Salon) -
 No. 431: Baby

Nelson, NSAS Annual Exhibition

Wellington, NZAFA Annual Exhibition:

No.47: Sketch (Tempera)	-nfs-
No.161: The Thinker (ch.drw.)	-nfs-
No.210: A Corner of the Motueka Farmyard	-nfs-
No.229: Still-Life	
No.303: Original Etching	£ 3.3.0
No.307: Cornish Fisherman (etch.)	£ 3.3.0

1918:

Christchurch, CSA Annual Exhibition:

No.262: Orpheus' Lute	£ 5.5.0
No.263: Maori Head	£ 12.12.0
No.274: The End of the Lane	

Dunedin, OAS Annual Exhibition:

No.145: Zinnias	
No.175: Hydrangea	£ 10.10.0

Wellington, NZAFA Sketch Exhibition

Wellington, NZAFA Annual Exhibition:

No.5: Zinnias (oil) -nfs-
No.192: The Balcony (w/c) £ 10.10.0
No.235: Hydrangea (pastel) £ 10.10.0

1919:

Dunedin, OAS Annual Exhibition, 1919:

No.60: The Green Parrot. £ 12.12 (oil)

Nelson, NSAS Sketch Exhibition, March 1919

Nelson, NSAS Sketch Exhibition, May 1919

Nelson, NSAS Sketch Exhibition, September 1919

Wanganui, Inaugural Exhibition, Sarjeant Gallery:

No.207: Still Life Group £ 21.0.0
No.379: Portrait Sketch : Head of Cornish Woman £ 15.15.0

Wellington, NZAFA Annual Exhibition:

No. 251: The Green Parrot £ 12.12.0

1920:

Nelson, NSAS Annual Exhibition

Wellington, NZAFA Sketch Exhibition

Wellington, NZAFA Annual Exhibition:

No. 101: Mother and Child

1921:

Dunedin, OAS Annual Exhibition:

No.349: Charcoal Drawing
No.350: The Corner
No.351: Study of a Head
No.352: The Lane £ 7.7
No.355: Autumn £ 7.7
No.357: Showery Morning £ 7.7

Melbourne, APES, First Melbourne Exhibition:

No.30: Cornishman -nfs-

Nelson, NSAS Sketch Exhibition

Nelson, NSAS Annual Exhibition

Sydney, APES, First Annual Exhibition:

No.1: Paper Barges (Chelsea)	£ 4.4.0
No.2: The Old Jew's Head	£ 5.5.0
No.3: Miniature Etching	£ 3.3.0
No.4: Uncle Ben	£ 4.4.0
No.5: Carrying the Nets	£ 3.3.0
No.6: Cornishman	£ 4.4.0
No.7: Old Woman	£ 3.3.0
No.8: Nude	£ 4.4.0

Wellington, NZAFA Sketch Exhibition**Wellington, NZAFA Annual Exhibition:**

No.30: Nasturtiums and some Zinnias	£ 25.0.0
No.381: Sketch (Motueka)	£ 7.7.0
No.382: Showery Morning (pastel)	£ 7.7.0
No.384: The Corner	
No.388: The Village	£ 7.7.0
No.433: The Lane (Charcoal)	£ 7.7.0
No.437: Charcoal Drawing	
No.439: Study of a Head	

1922:**Adelaide, APES, First Adelaide Exhibition, 1922:**

No.1: The Cornishman	-nfs-
No.2: Etching of Two Figures	-nfs-
No.3: Nude Study	-nfs-

Dunedin, OAS Annual Exhibition:

No.185: Zinnias	
No.194: Decorative Group, with Little Old Woman from Arizona	£ 21.0.0
No.196: Decorative Group	£ 21.0.0

Nelson, NSAS Annual Exhibition**Sydney, APES, Second Annual Exhibition:**

No.1: A Little Deaf	£ 5.5.0
No.2: Study of An Old Man's Head	£ 5.5.0
No.3: Cornish Interior	£ 5.5.0
No.4: Orpheus with his Lute	£ 4.4.0

Wellington, NZAFA Sketch Exhibition**Wellington, NZAFA Annual Exhibition:**

No.45: Decorative Group	£ 21.0.0
No.124: Zinnias	-nfs-
No.136: Decorative Group with the Little Old Woman from Arizona	£ 21.0.0

No.362: Brian	£ 6.6.0
No.426: Near Wakefield (b+w)	£ 6.6.0
No.427: Study of a Head	-nfs-
No.434: Winifred (char.drw)	£ 10.10.0

1923:

Christchurch, APES, Exh. of Etchings under the Auspices of the CSA:

No.137: Head of an Old Woman	£ 3.3.0
No.138: A Little Deaf	£ 5.5.0
No.139: Old Cornish Fisherman	£ 5.5.0
No.140: Interior	£ 5.5.0
No.141: Study of Old Cornish Fisherman's Head	£ 5.5.0
No.142: Paper Barges, Chelsea	£ 4.4.0
No.143: Nude	£ 4.4.0
No.144: Study of a Head	£ 3.3.0
No.145: Miniature Etching	£ 4.4.0
No.146: Street in Corfe	£ 3.3.0

Christchurch, CSA Annual Exhibition:

No.60: Zinnias	
No.62: Decorative Group	£ 21.00

Wellington, NZAFA Sketch Exhibition

Wellington, NZAFA Annual Exhibition:

No.106: The Grannie	£ 10.10.0
No.107: Evening, and May at the Piano -	
No.108: When Autumn casts its Mantle over all	£ 10.10.0
No.109: In the Half-light	
No.244: Marigolds and Brass	£ 21.0.0

1924:

Dunedin, OAS Annual Exhibition:

No.47: Cinneraria	£ 21.0.0
No.68: Zinnias and Brass	£ 21.0.0
No.361: Winter's Day	£ 8.8.0
No.364: The Farmer	£ 10.10.0
No.369: Head of a Young Woman	£ 8.8.0
No.388: When She Was Seven	£ 10.10.0

Nelson, NSAS Sketch Exhibition

Sydney, APES, Fourth Annual Exhibition:

No.126: Study of Old Man	£ 4.4.0
No.127: Ben	£ 3.3.0

No.128: Street in Corfe £ 2.2.0

Wellington, NZAFA Sketch Exhibition

Wellington, NZAFA Annual Exhibition:

No.14: Interior £ 21.0.0
No.34: Zinnias and Brass £ 21.0.0
No.41: Cinneraria £ 21.0.0
No.249: Winter's Day £ 8.8.0
No.407: When she was seven £ 10.10.0
No.408: The Farmer £ 10.10.0
No.409: Head of a young Woman £ 8.8.0

Wembley, British Empire Exhibition:

No.Y.72: The Thinker (charcoal drawing) £ 5.5.0
No.Y.85: Study (charcoal drawing) £ 5.5.0

1925:

Auckland, ASA Annual Exhibition:

No.25: Hydrangeas £ 26.5.0
No.306: Study of Old Man's Head £ 10.10.0
No.312: Study of a Head of a Young Woman £ 12.12.0
No.317: When She Was Seven £ 10.10.0

Christchurch, CSA Annual Exhibition:

No.322: Head of a Young Woman £ 12.12.0
No.338: After the Flood £ 10.10.0
No.343: 'When Autumn Casts Its Mantle Over All' -
No.367: 'When She Was Seven' £ 10.10.0
No.368: Study of Old Man's Head £ 10.10.0
No.408: The Country Road £ 8.8.0

Nelson, Exhibition of about 400 Works (comprising exhibits from all the other major art societies in the country), June 1925

Wellington, NZAFA Sketch Exhibition

Wellington, NZAFA Annual Exhibition:

No.7: The Roadmender's Wife £ 15.15.0
No.40: The Preacher £ 12.12.0
No.70: Decorative Group £ 35.0.0
No.71: Nasturtiums £ 20.0.0
No.264: Hop Picking £ 8.8.0
No.265: A Summer's Afternoon £ 10.10.0
No.369: Portrait of Dr. M.

1926:**Christchurch, CSA Annual Exhibition:**

No.191: Study of a Head

No.341: Decorative Group £ 36.15.0

Paris, SDAF, Annual Salon:

No.2064: Après la pluie

Wellington, NZAFA Annual Exhibition:

No.124: Spring (oil) -nfs-

No.375: Study of a Head (b+w) -nfs-

No.376: The late Dr. Frank Hay -nfs-

Bibliography:

1. Primary Sources-Unpublished:

Archival Material:

Architects' file: Henri Bastings (SFA)

Artist's files:

- Mina Arndt (Auckland War Memorial Museum Library)
- Mina Arndt (Australian Visual Artist Database, Art Gallery of NSW)
- Mina Arndt (MONZ and Hector Library, Wellington)
- Mina Arndt (NSAG)
- Henri Bastings (ATL)
- Lovis Corinth (Akademie der Künste, Berlin)
- Alexander Stanhope Forbes (Tate Gallery, London)
- George Nordstrum (ATL)
- Hugh Scott (ATL)
- Hugh Scott (NSAG)
- Julie Wolfthörn (SMBCA)
- Julie Wolfthörn (Verein der Berliner Künstlerinnen, Berlin)

Baverstock Papers, 1880-1975 (MBL)

Biographies Index (NL)

Birth Certificate of Mina Arndt (Queenstown District Court)

Birth Certificates: Charles Henry Arndt, Edith Arndt and Florence Mathilda (Jennie) Arndt (Central Registry of Births, Deaths and Marriages, Lower Hutt)

Death certificates: Charles Henry Arndt, Edith Arndt, Jennie Nathan, Marie Arndt, Bertha Beaver and Henry Beaver (Central Registry of Births, Deaths and Marriages, Lower Hutt)

C. H. Arndt (jun.) Papers (Family collection, Wellington)

Hallenstein Papers (HL)

Lakes Council Rate Books for the Arrow Riding (Lakes District Mus., Arrowtown)

Membership Records, Société Nationale des Beaux Arts, Paris

Mina Arndt Archive (MONZ)

Mina Arndt Papers (ATL, MS 4634)

Mina Arndt Papers (Family collection, Motueka)

Nathan Papers (ATL, MS 1880)

New Zealand Shipping Company Passenger Lists 1905-1915 (ATL)

NZAFA Files Concerning the 1961 Mina Arndt Retrospective (NL, MS-1372-3/01)

Pictorial Archives (HL, MONZ , Lakes District Museum, Arrowtown)
 Probates: Charles Henry Arndt, Hermann Arndt, Edith Davis and Jennie Nathan
 (National Archives, Wellington and Dunedin)
 Scrapbook of Art Reviews (Hector Library, Wellington)
 Register of Births, Death and Marriages (Queenstown District Court)
 Research Notes on Mina Arndt, compiled by Ann Calhoun (Dorothee Pauli)
 Wellington Technical College Admission Register, 1902-1907 (ATL, MS Y23)
 Wellington Technical College, Record of Scholarships and Prizes, 1901-1909,
 (ATL, MS Y 0035)
 Wellington Technical College, Tuition Fees Register, 1904-1907 (ATL, MS Y 49)
 Woman's Suffrage Petition, 1893 (NL)

Interviews and Correspondence:

Interview between May Manoy and Ann Calhoun, 12 & 19 May 1988,
 (Oral Archives, MONZ, Wellington, M354/1988/13a+13b)
 Interview between Rae Arndt and Patricia White (undated, family collection,
 Wellington)
 Interview between John Manoy and Dorothee Pauli, 6 February 1995 and 26
 September 1995
 Interview between Susan Isaacs and Dorothee Pauli, 14 November 1995
 Letter from Mina Arndt to her family, 9 October 1909 (Fam. Collection, Motueka)
 Letter from Philip Nathan to his father, 4 May 1911 (ATL, Wellington)
 Letter from Mina Arndt to her family, 10 February 1913 (Fam. coll., Wellington)
 Letter from Edith Arndt to her family, 10 February 1913 (Fam. coll. Wellington)
 Letter Otago Girls High School to Ann Calhoun, 30 November 1988
 Letter from Paul Beale to Dorothee Pauli, 13 December 1995
 Letter from June Bastings to Dorothee Pauli, 14 June 1997
 Letter from Judy Paul (née Nordstrum) to Dorothee Pauli , 10 July 1997

Manuscripts and Genealogical Research:

Angeloro, David	The Australian Painter Etchers' Society (1996)
Arndt, C. H. & Manoy, May	[The Arndt Family-Tree]
Davis, Dudley D.	The Other Side of the Reord-A Monograph (Part 3).
Dodds, Joan	[Biographical Notes on Hugh Scott]

Heraud, Julie Maud Sherwood: New Zealand Artist 1880-1956 (ATL)
Sinclair, Devon Richard and Elizabeth Wallwork-Artists and Teachers.

Minute Books:

Minute Books, NSAS, 1917-1926 (Nelson Museum Library)
Minute Books, NZAFA 1915-1926 (NZAFA Archives, Wellington)
Minute Books, Wellington Technical School Education Board, 1904-1907 (ATL, MS Y2)

2. Primary Sources-Published:

Books and Pamphlets:

Auckland City Art Gallery Newsletter, no. 50, 1993
AJHR, Wellington, 1900-1910.
Kelly's Post Office London Directory, 1906-1915.
Post Office Directories, Berlin, 1907-1915.
New Zealand Official Yearbooks, Wellington, 1915-1926.
New Zealand Census Reports, Wellington, 1900-1926.
New Zealand Herstory Diary, Auckland, 1978.
Official Record of the New Zealand International Exhibition 1906-7.
Royal Academy Pictures, London, 1900-1915.
The Cyclopedia of New Zealand, Otago/Southland, 1905.
The Cyclopedia of New Zealand, Wellington, c.1897.
Stone's Directories, 1885-1905.
Who's Who in New Zealand and the Western Pacific, Masterton, 1924.

Articles:

Artist's Astonishing Collection-The Versatility of Mina
Arndt,
The Evening Post, 23 June 1961, p. 6.

French Art at the Grafton Galleries,
The Times, 17 January 1905, p. 6.

German Culture: What it Amounts to and What it is
Worth, *The Triad*, 10 July 1915, pp. 395-396.

Lambert's Art,
The Daily Telegraph, 1 December 1924, p. 6.

Neue Künstler und Kunstwerke,
Königlich Privilegierte Zeitung, 5 May 1901,
(unpaginated)

[Obituary, Hermann Arndt]
Lake Wakatipu Mail, 6 March 1885 (unpaginated)

[Obituary, Mina Arndt] in
The Evening Post, 26 December 1926, p. 15.

[Obituary] Death of New Zealand Artist, in
New Zealand Freelance, 29 December 1926, p. 6.

Obituary: Mr Lionel Manoy of Motueka
(unsourced, undated newspaper clipping, Mina Arndt
Papers, Motueka)

The Jew as He is,
The Triad, 10 July 1915, pp. 397-398.

The Jew in Art,
The Dominion, 9 May 1923, p. 3.

The National Art Association: Important Work
Undertaken,
The Nelson Evening Mail, 12 June 1925, p. 7.

[Constant Reader/
Mina Arndt?] Art and Poetry in Australia-Etching in New Zealand
(unsourced, undated newspaper clipping, MAPM)

Bond, Hussell Diary of the Arts,
The Dominion, 28 June 1961, p. 15.

Harvey, J. G. Australian and New Zealand Art, *The Press*,
10 March 1925, p. 10.

Hodgkins, W.M. A History of Landscape Art in New Zealand and its
Study in New Zealand, *The Otago Daily Times*,
20 November 1880 (unpaginated supplement).

Keane, Hilda Art and War,
The New Zealand Herald, 10 June 1916, p. 1.

McLeavey, Peter Academy out of Touch with Creative Art
(unsourced, undated newspaper clipping, MAPM)

The Lay Figure

On the Art that May be,
The Triad, 10 March 1915, p. 165.

Wilson, Charles

A Gossip About Etching and Some Modern Etchers,
The Triad, 10 October 1912, pp. 29-31.

Exhibition Catalogues:

Catalogue of the Annual Arts, Crafts & Sketch Exhibition, CSA, 1914 (RMDG)

Catalogues of Annual Exhibitions, 1900-1926:

-ASA (Auckland War Memorial Library)

-CSA (RMDG)

-NZAFA (NZAFA Archives, Wellington)

-OAS (HL)

Catalogue of Exhibition Pictures [SGW Inaugural Exhibition], 1919 (APL)

Catalogues of Salons, Société des Artistes Français, 1912-1926 (SDAF, Paris)

Catalogue of the untitled solo exhibition, Wellington, 1915 (Family coll., Motueka)

Exhibition of Works by Mina Arndt, NZAFA, 1961 (ATL/ MONZ)

Exhibition of the Work of Mina Arndt, NSAG, 1960 (Priv.coll., Nelson)

Mina Arndt 1885-1926, ACAG/RMDG/DCAG, 1961 (AAG)

Mina Arndt 1885-1926, MC/NSAG, 1990 (NSAG)

Mina Arndt-1886[sic]-1926, Palmerston North Art Gallery, 1967 (MAG)

New Zealand Women Painters, ACAG, 1975 (UCL)

*Official Catalogue of the British Government Exhibit at the New Zealand
International Exhibition 1906-07* (SFA, Christchurch)

*Official Catalogue and Souvenir of the New Zealand International Exhibition
1906-7* (CPL)

Pictures Intended for the Royal Academy, PEAG, 1914 (Mina Arndt papers, ATL,
Wellington)

Portraits in Nelson Collections, NSAG, 1983 (CPL, Christchurch)

The Canterbury Antique Collectors Club & the New Zealand Founders Society:

Loan Exhibition, Christchurch, 1970 (Baverstock Papers, Box 2, MBL)

[*Wanganui City Council Art Exhibition*] SGW, 1959 (CPL)

Newspapers and Periodicals:

Art in Australia

Art in New Zealand

Art New Zealand

Ascent

Die Kunst (Munich)

Die Weite Welt (Berlin)

Frau und Gegenwart (Berlin, Hamburg, Munich)

Königlich Privilegierte Zeitung (Berlin)

Manawatu Standard

The Advertiser (Adelaide)

The Age (Melbourne)

The Art Journal

The Auckland Star

The British-Australasian

The Colonist (Nelson)

The Cornishman (Penzance)

The Daily Telegraph (Sydney)

The Dominion (Wellington)

The Evening Post (Wellington)

The Evening Star (Dunedin)

The Herald (Melbourne)

The Lake Wakatipu Mail

The Lyttelton Times

The Magazine of Art

The Nelson Evening Mail

The New Zealand Freelance (Wellington)

The New Zealand Herald (Auckland)

The New Zealand Jewish Chronicle

The New Zealand Times (Wellington)

The Observer (Adelaide)

The Otago Daily Times

The Otago Witness

The Press (Christchurch)

The Studio

The Sun (Sydney)

The Sydney Morning Herald

The Times (London)

The Triad

Westermanns Monatshefte (Hamburg)

3.Secondary Sources:

Books:

- Baker, Denys Val *Britain's Art Colony by the Sea.*
London, 1959.
- Baron, Wendy *The Camden Town Group.*
London, 1979.
- Bell, Claudia *Inventing New Zealand: Everyday Myths of Pakeha Identity.* Auckland 1996.
- Bell, Leonard *Colonial Constructs-European Images of Maori, 1940- 1914.*
Auckland , 1992.
- Berend-Corinth, C. *Mein Leben mit Lovis Corinth.*
Munich, 1958.
- Die Gemälde von Lovis Corinth.*
Munich, 1954.
- Berger, Renate *Malerinnen auf dem Weg ins 20. Jahrhundert. Kunstgeschichte als Sozialgeschichte.*
Cologne, 1982.
- Berghahn, V.R. *Imperial Germany 1871-1914.*
Oxford, 1994.
- Bloemink, Barbara J. *The Life and Art of Florine Stettheimer,*
New Haven and London, 1995.
- Breeskin, A. D. *Romaine Brooks.*
Washington, D.C., 1986.
- Brangwyn, Rodney *Brangwyn.*
London, 1978.
- Brasch, Charles *Indirections.*
Wellington, 1988.
- Breward, Ian *Religion and New Zealand Society.*
Dunedin, 1979
- Broude, N. &
Garrard, Mary D. *The Expanding Discourse:Feminism and Art History,* New York, 1992.

- Brown, G. & Keith, H. *An Introduction to New Zealand Painting.*
Auckland , 1969.
- Bunkle, P. & Hughes, B. (eds) *Women in New Zealand Society.*
Auckland, 1980.
- Bunt,Cyril G.E. *Sir Frank Brangwyn.*
Leigh-on-Sea, 1949.
- Callen, Angela *Angel in the Studio.*
London, 1979.
- Carline, R. *Draw they Must- A History of the Teaching and Examining of Art.*
London, 1968.
- Decoteau, Pamela H. *Clara Peeters.*
Lingen, 1992.
- Drayton, Joanne *Edith Collier: Her Life and Work, 1885-1964.*
Christchurch, 1999.
- Cameron Wilson, S. *From Shadow into Light.*
St. Peters, 1988.
- Campbell, Jean *Early Sydney Moderns.*
Roseville, 1988.
- Charlton-Jones, R. *The British Portrait, 1660-1960.*
London, 1991.
- Cherry, Deborah *Painting Women: Victorian Women Artists.*
London, 1993.
- Cherry, D. & Beckett, J. (eds.) *The Edwardian Era.*
London, 1987.
- Corinth, Lovis *Selbstbiographie.*
Leipzig, 1993.
- Corinth, Wilhemine *Ich habe einen Lovis, keinen Vater...*
Berlin, 1992.
- Cross, T. *The Shining Sands: Artists in Newlyn and St. Ives, 1880-1930.*
Cambridge, 1994.

- Day, Melvin *Nicholas Chevalier: Artist.*
Wellington, 1981.
- Docking, Gil *Two Hundred Years of New Zealand Painting.*
(revised edition) Auckland, 1990.
- Dunn, Michael *A Concise History of New Zealand Painting.*
Sydney, 1991.
- Flint, Kate (ed.) *Impressionists in England: The Critical Reception.*
London, 1984.
- Fox, Caroline *Stanhope Forbes and the Newlyn School.*
Newton Abbot, 1993.
- Fortlage, K. &
Schwarz, K. *Das graphische Werk von Hermann Struck.*
Berlin, 1911.
- Frayling, C. *The Royal College of Art- One Hundred & Fifty Years
of Art and Design.*
London, 1987.
- Fyfe, Judith *Matriarchs.*
Auckland, 1990.
- Gill, Linda (ed.) *The Letters of Frances Hodgkins.*
Auckland, 1993.
- Goldman, Lazarus M. *The History of the Jews in New Zealand.*
Wellington, 1958.
- Gray, Anne *Art and Artifice- George Lambert, 1873-1930.*
Sydney, 1996.
- Hamer, David *New Towns in the New World.*
New York, 1990.
- Hardie, Melissa *100 Years in Newlyn: Diary of a Gallery.*
Newlyn, 1995.
- Harrison, Charles *English Art and Modernism 1900-1939.*
London, 1981.
- Harrison, Noel *The House that Riley Built.*
Wellington, 1961.
- Hartrick, A.S. *A Painter's Pilgrimage Through Fifty Years.*
Cambridge, 1939.

- Heijbroek, J.F. & MacDonald, M. F. *Whistler and Holland.* Amsterdam, 1997.
- Hirsch, Anton *Die bildenden Künstlerinnen der Neuzeit.* Stuttgart, 1905.
- Howe, I. *The Immigrant Jews of New York.* London, 1976.
- Hutchings, P. & Lewis, J. *Kathleen O'Connor-Artist in Exile.* Fremantle, 1987.
- James, Bruce *Grace Cossington Smith.* Roseville, 1990.
- James, B. & Saville Smith, K. *Gender, Culture and Power.* Auckland, 1989.
- Jacobs, Michael *The Good and Simple Life: Artist Colonies in Europe and America.* Oxford, 1985.
- Julian, Philippe *The Triumph of Art Nouveau: Paris Exhibition, 1900.* London, 1974.
- Kay, R. & Eden, T. *Portrait of a Century- The History of the N.Z. Academy of Fine Arts 1882-1982.* Wellington, 1983.
- Kilmurry, E. & Ormond, R. *John Singer Sargent.* London, 1998.
- Kirker, Anne *New Zealand Women Artists.* (revised edition) Sydney, 1993.
- Knight, Laura *Oil Paint and Grease Paint.* London, 1936.
- Lenman, R. *Artists and Society in Germany.* Manchester, 1997.
- Lipman, V.D. *A History of the Jews in Britain since 1858.* New York, 1990.

- MacDonald, James *The Art and Life of George Lambert.*
Melbourne, c.1920.
- Mais, S. P. B. *The Cornish Riviera.*
London, 1929
- Mansfield, J.M. (ed.), *Farewell Colonialism: The New Zealand international
Exhibition Christchurch ,1906-7.*
Palmerston North, 1998.
- McAloon, Jim *Nelson-A Regional History.*
Nelson, 1997.
- McConkey, Kenneth *Edwardian Portraits: Images of an Age of Opulence.*
Woodbridge, 1987.
- McCormick, E.H. *Letters and Art in New Zealand.*
Wellington, 1940.
- The Expatriate: A Study of Frances Hodgkins.*
Wellington, 1954.
- Works of Frances Hodgkins in New Zealand.*
Auckland, 1954.
- Meltzer, J. *The Wellington Jewish Community.*
Wellington, 1973.
- Meskimmon, M. *The Art of Reflection: Women Artists Self-Portraiture
in the Twentieth Century.*
London, 1996.
- Meskimmon, M. &
West, S. (eds.) *Visions of the Neue Frau.*
Aldershot, 1995.
- Milner, J. *The Studios of Paris.*
New Haven and London, 1988.
- Munnings, Sir Alfred *An Artist's Life.*
London, 1950.
- Münz, Ludwig *Rembrandt's Etching: Reproductions of the Whole
Original Etched Work.*
London, 1952.
- Murken-Altrogge, C. *Paula Modersohn Becker: Leben und Werk.*
Cologne, 1988.

- Neale, June E. *Nelson Suter Art Society, 1889-1989.*
Nelson, 1989.
- Nochlin, L. (ed.) *Women, Art and Power.*
New York, 1988.
- Nunn, Pamela G. *Canvassing: Recollections by Six Victorian Women Artists.*
London, 1986.
- Victorian Women Artists.*
London, 1987.
- Problem Pictures.*
Aldershot, 1995.
- Olsen, Stanley *John Singer Sargent: His Portrait.*
London and New York, 1986.
- Paret, Peter *The Berlin Secession-Modernism and its Enemies in Imperial Germany.*
London, 1980.
- Phillips, Jock *A Man's Country?*
Auckland, 1987.
- Phillips, Jock (ed.) *Te Whenua Te Iwi: The Land & The People.*
Wellington, 1987.
- Pollock, Griselda *Mary Cassat.*
London, 1980.
- Vision and Difference.*
London, 1988.
- Pound, Francis *Frames on the Land: Early Landscape Painting in New Zealand.*
Auckland, 1983.
- Reff, T. *Degas: The Artists Mind.*
New York, 1976.
- Reid, Dennis *A Concise History of Canadian Painting.*
Toronto, 1988.
- Rosenblum, Robert *Modern Painting and the Northern Romantic Tradition.*
London, 1975.

- Paintings in the Musee d'Orsay.*
New York, 1989.
- Rosenthal, Odeda *Not Strictly Kosher-Pioneer Jews in New Zealand.*
(2nd edition) New York, 1991
- Ross, J., Gill, L. & McRae, S. *Writing a New Country.*
Auckland, 1993.
- Roters, E. *Berlin 1910-1930.*
New York, 1982.
- Roth, Cecil (ed.) *Jewish Art-An Illustrated History.*
London, 1961.
- Rubinstein, W.D. *A History of the Jews in the English Speaking World.*
Basingstoke and New York, 1996.
- Sachko Macleod, D. *Art and the Victorian Middle Class.*
Cambridge, 1996.
- Salaman, M.S. *Modern Masters of Etching.*
London, 1924.
- Schröder, K.A. *Lovis Corinth.*
Munich, 1992.
- Shadbolt, Doris *Emily Carr.*
Vancouver, 1990.
- Soucy, D. & Stankiewicz (eds.) *Framing the Past-Essays on Art Education.*
Reston (Virginia), 1990.
- Smith, Bernard. *Australian Painting.*
Melbourne, 1971.
- Spalding, Frances *British Art since 1900.*
London, 1986.
- Sparrow, Walter Shaw *Frank Brangwyn and His Work.*
London, 1910.
- Prints and Drawings by Frank Brangwyn with some
Other Phases of his Art.*
London, 1919.
- Women Painters of the World.*
London, 1905.

- Struck, Hermann *Die Kunst des Radierens.*
Berlin, 1908 & 1923.
- Tillyard, S.K. *The Impact of Modernism.*
London, 1988.
- Tombs, H. H. (ed) *A Century of Art in Otago.*
Wellington, 1964.
- Tomory, P.A. *Painting 1827-1967.*
Wellington, 1967.
- Topliss, Helen *Modernism and Feminism:
Australian Women Artists 1900-1940.*
Sydney, 1996.
- Uhr, Horst *Lovis Corinth.*
Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1990.
- Vulliamy, C. *Calico Pie,*
London, 1940.
- Vaughan, William *German Romantic Painting.*
New Haven, 1980.
- Walkley, Giles *Artists Houses in London, 1764-1914.*
Aldershot, 1994.
- Walton, Leslie *The Art of Roland Wakelin.*
Sydney, 1992.
- Whybrow, Marion *St. Ives 1883-1993: Portrait of an Art Colony.*
Woodbridge, 1994.
- Wilson, Rodney *Van der Velden (1837-1913)*
Wellington, 1976.

Catalogues:

- Achenbach, S. *Berufskünstler und Amateure, Whistler-Haden und
die Blütezeit der Graphik in England.*
Berlin, 1985.
- (ACAG) *New Zealand Painting.*
Auckland, 1956.
- Raymond McIntyre (1879-1933).*
Auckland, 1984.

- (ASA) *New Zealand Women Painters, 1845-1968.*
Auckland, 1968.
- Barr, E. (ed.) *Headlands-Thinking through New Zealand Art.*
Sydney, 1992.
- Bell, L. *The Maori in European Art.*
Auckland, 1980.
- Beutel, Elizabeth *Margaret Preston: The Art of Constant Rearrangement.*
Sydney & Melbourne, 1985.
- (Berlinische Galerie) *Berlin um 1900.*
Berlin, 1984.
- Blackley, R. *Goldie.*
Auckland, 1997.
- Brown, G. *New Zealand Painting 1900-1920: Traditions and Departures.*
Wellington, 1972.
- New Zealand Painting, 1920-1940: Adaptation and Nationalism.*
Wellington, 1975.
- Carey, F. & Griffiths, A. *Avant-Garde British Printmaking 1914-1960.*
London, 1990.
- Dickinson, F. *Grace Joel, 1965-1924: Paintings and Drawings.*
Dunedin, 1980.
- Dorment, Richard & MacDonald, M.F. *James McNeill Whistler.*
London, 1994.
- Entwisle, P. *William Mathew Hodgkins and His Circle.*
Dunedin, 1984.
- Findlay, M. (et al) *Southern Lights: 150 Years of Otago Landscape Art.*
Dunedin, 1998.
- Fox, C. & Greenacre, F. *Painting in Newlyn: 1880-1930.*
London, 1985.
- Fox, Caroline *Painting in Newlyn, 1900-1930.*
Penzance, 1985.

- Hearnshaw, Victoria *James McLauchlan Nairn: A Catalogue of Works.*
Dunedin, 1997.
- Hohl, Hanna (et al.) *Dreimal Deutschland: Lenbach, Liebermann, Kollwitz.*
Hamburg, 1981.
- Hylton, Jane *South Australian Women Artists.*
Adelaide, 1994.
- Kidman, Fiona *Academy Women: A Century of Inspiration.*
Wellington, 1993.
- King, Julie *Sydney Lough Thompson - At Home and Abroad .*
Christchurch, 1990.
- Flowers into Landscape-Margaret Stoddart (1865-1936)*
Christchurch, 1997.
- Langdale, C. &
Jenkins, D. F. *Gwen John: An Interior Life*
New York, 1986.
- (NAG) *The National Centennial Exhibition of New Zealand Art.*
Wellington, 1940.
- Aspects of New Zealand Art 1890-1940.*
Wellington, 1984.
- Martin, Tony *New Zealand Images of War.*
Palmerston North, 1990.
- McConkey, K. *Impressionism in Britain.*
London, 1995.
- McCormick, E.H. *Frances Hodgkins and Her Circle.*
Auckland, 1954.
- Petzet, Michael (ed.) *Wilhelm Leibl und sein Kreis.*
Munich, 1974.
- Robins Gruetzner, A. *Modern Art in Britain 1910-1914.*
London, 1997.
- Ruhmer, Eberhard *'Leibl als Vorbild', Wilhelm Leibl zum 150. Geburtstag.*
Munich and Cologne, 1994.
- (SGW) *Changing Landscapes, 1893-1993.*
Wanganui, 1993.

Tyler, Linda

Women on Women: Art in Dunedin since 1893.
Dunedin, 1993.

Articles:

Graphic Art in New Zealand: An Historical Note
(1888-1920), *Art in New Zealand*, vol. 3, no. 10, 1930,
pp. 147-148.

Calhoun, Ann

A Trade for their Daughters: Women in the Fine and
Applied Arts in New Zealand from 1870 to 1900,
Bulletin of New Zealand Art History, vol. 14, 1993,
pp. 15-28.

Carter, A. C. R.

Mr. Melton Fisher and His Work,
The Art Journal, 1899, pp. 233-239.

Caselberg, John

Havens for Art: Nelson, Dunedin and the Growth of
Local Art, *Art New Zealand*, no. 15, 1980, pp. 40-49.

Collins, R.D.J

Dunedin in the Eighteen Nineties,
Art New Zealand , no. 2, 1976, pp. 29-32.

Grace J. Joel and Australia,
Bulletin of New Zealand Art History, vol. 14, 1993,
pp. 29-38.

Grace J. Joel in New Zealand, 1905-1907,
Bulletin of New Zealand Art History, vol. 15, 1994,
pp. 65-71.

Dalziel, Raewyn

The Colonial Helpmeet : Women's Role and the
Vote in Nineteenth-Century New Zealand,
New Zealand Journal of History,
October 1977, pp. 112-123.

Davis, Angela

Forgotten Artist: Sir Frank Brangwyn: 1867-1956,
Manitoba History, no. 7, 1984, pp.10-13.

Fairburn, A.R. D.

Some Aspects of New Zealand art and Letters,
Art in New Zealand, vol. 6, no. 4, 1934, pp. 213-218.

Gouma-Peterson, T. &
Mathews, P.

The Feminist Critique of Art History,
The Art Bulletin, vol. 69, 1987, pp. 326-355.

Hoff, Joan

The Pernicious Effect of Postmodernism on Women's
History, *Women's Studies Association N.Z. Newsletter*,
vol. 15, no. 1, 1994, pp. 31-33.

- King, Julie Art Collecting by the CSA: The First Fifty Years, *Bulletin of New Zealand Art History*, vol. 2, 1990, pp. 41-50.
- Lee, Mary Alice An Australian Student of Frank Brangwyn: Jessie C.A. Traill in London and Belgium, 1907-1908, *Art Bulletin of Victoria*, vol. 30, 1989, pp. 58-71.
- Mason, E. & Vial, J. Mabel Hill 1872-1956, in *Bulletin of New Zealand Art History*, vol. 11, 1990, pp. 19-28.
- Meynell, Alice Newlyn, *The Art Journal*, April 1889, pp. 97-102 and pp. 137-141.
- Nunn, Pamela G. L'Art Féminin: Frances Hodgkins and Impressionism, *Bulletin of New Zealand Art History*, Special Series, no.4, 1998, pp. 25-32.
- Notman, Robyn Esmond de Beer, Patron of the Arts, *Bulletin of New Zealand Art History*, vol. 15, 1994, pp. 33-53.
- Richmond, L. The Lure of Wembley, *The Studio*, vol. 87, 1924, pp. 312-316.
- Radycki, J. Diane The Life of the Lady Art Students: Changing art Education at the Turn of the Century, *Art Journal*, Spring 1982, pp. 9-13.
- Schulze-Brück, Luise Julie Wolfthorn, in *Die Weite Welt*, vol. 22, no. 4, September 1902, pp. 110-113.
- Treble, Rosemary The Art of Frank Brangwyn, *The Burlington Magazine*, vol. 122, June 1980, pp. 444-447.
- Tyler, Linda Tender Violence: The Watercolours of Margaret Stoddart, *Art New Zealand*, no. 86, 1998, pp. 78-82.
- Wolfthorn, Julie Aus meiner Pariser Studienzeit, *Die Künstler-Selbsthilfe*, vol. 1, no. 20, 1927, pp. 34-36.
- Moderne Frauentypen, *Westermanns Monatshefte*, vol. 73, pp. 481-484.

Published Lectures:

Woollaston, Tosswill *New Zealand Through the Arts: Past and Present.*
Wellington, 1982.

Published Theses:

Yeldham, Charlotte *Women Artists in Nineteenth-Century France and England.*
New York and London, 1984.

Reference Publications and Dictionaries:

Bénézit, E. *Dictionnaire des Peintres, Sculpteurs, Dessinateurs et Graveurs.* (new ed.)
Paris, 1966.

Craig, Edward D. *Australian Art Auction Records.*
Sydney (1984-1999)

Dunford, Penny *A Biographical Dictionary of Women Artists in Europe and America Since 1850.*
New York, London, Toronto, Sydney and Tokyo, 1990.

Fanning, L.S. *Progressive New Zealand.*
Christchurch, 1924.

Furphy, John *Australian Art Sales Digest.*
Armada, 1998.

Gaze, Delia (ed.) *Dictionary of Women Artists.*
London and Chicago, 1997.

MacDonald, C. et al *The Book of New Zealand Women.*
Wellington, 1991.

Newrick & Assoc. *New Zealand Art Auction Records, 1973.*
Wellington, 1974.

New Zealand Art & Antiques Yearbook, 1982-83.
Wellington, [1984].

Platts, Una *Nineteenth Century New Zealand Artists.*
Christchurch, 1980.

The Concise Dictionary of National Biography, vol. 2, Oxford, 1992.

The Dictionary of New Zealand Biography, vol. 1, Wellington, 1990.

The Dictionary of New Zealand Biography, vol. 3, Auckland, 1996.

Thieme, U. & Becker, F. *Allgemeines Künstlerlexikon.*
Leipzig, 1907.

Turner, Jane (ed.) *The Dictionary of Art.*
London, 1996.

Auction and Dealer Catalogues:

Bealey Gallery, Christchurch
Dunbar Sloane, Wellington
Ferner Galleries, Wellington
McArthur & Co. Wellington
Peter Webb Galleries, Auckland

Unpublished Research Papers and Theses:

- | | |
|----------------------|---|
| Abbott, Janet | Elizabeth Kelly.
M. A.Thesis, University of Canterbury, 1999. |
| Balkind, Violetta | A Contribution to the History of the Jews in New Zealand.
M. A.Thesis, University of New Zealand, 1928. |
| Chamberlain, Timothy | The New Zealand Jewish Community, its History, Organisation and Politics, 1840-1933.
Research Essay, University of Canterbury, 1993. |
| Clendon, Jane | The Art of the Untrained Artist in Colonial New Zealand.
PhD Thesis, Victoria University of New Zealand, 1994. |
| Cooper, Maureen K. | The Jewish Kehilah in 19thCentury Dunedin:
A Cultural and Economic Contribution.
B.A.Honours Thesis,Otago University, 1986. |
| Dennison, A. | Art in Otago, 1875-1880 and 1889-1893 - A Study in Provincial Identity.
Research Paper, University of Otago, 1975. |
| Drayton, Joanne | Edith Collier: Her Life and Work (1885-1964)
PhD Thesis, University of Canterbury, 1998. |
| Elias, Anne | New Zealand Still Life and Flower Painting 1880-1940.
PhD Thesis, University of Auckland, 1991. |
| Fergusson, Kirsten | Grace Joel-Portraits and Figure Studies.
M. A.Thesis, University of Canterbury, 1993. |

- Husbands, Paul The People of Freeman's Bay, 1880-1914.
M. A. Thesis, University of Auckland, 1992.
- Johnston, Louis R. Dorothy K. Richmond (1861-1935).
M. A. Thesis, University of Auckland, 1991.
- La Rooij, Marinus F. Political Antisemitism in New Zealand during the Great
Depression: A Case Study in the Myth of the Jewish
World Conspiracy.
M. A. Thesis, Victoria University of Wellington,
1998.
- Kirker, Anne A History of Printmaking in New Zealand.
Fine Arts Thesis, University of Auckland, 1969.
- Meuli, Paul Occupational Change and Bourgeois Proliferation:
A Study of New Middle Class Expansion in New
Zealand, 1896-1926.
M. A. Thesis, Victoria University of Wellington, 1977.
- Montgomery, M.E. Ann Jane Wimperis.
M. A. Thesis, University of Auckland, 1996.
- Rezelman, Betsy C. The Newlyn Artists and their Place in Late-
Victorian Art.
PhD Thesis, Indiana University, 1984.
- Rusel, Jane Hermann Struck (1876-1944).
PhD Thesis,
Johannes Gutenberg Universität zu Mainz, 1994.
- Tyler, Linda Imperial Art: British Painting in the New Zealand
International Exhibition, 1906-7.
M. A. Research Paper, University of Canterbury, 1983.
- Vickerman, Louise A Colonial Capitalist: Bendix Hallenstein.
B.A. Honours Thesis, Otago University, 1981.